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The foregleams of
Christianity

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THE
FOREGLEAMS OF CHRISTIANITY

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FOREGLEAMS OF CHRISTIANITY

AN ESSAY
ON
THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ANTIQUITY

BY
CHARLES NEWTON SCOTT ✓

Ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς

Matt. vii. 16 and 20

Προφητείας μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε. Πάντα δοκιμάζετε· τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε

1 *Thess.* v. 20, 21

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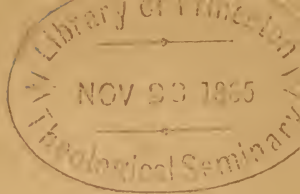
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TO

MY DEAR FATHER AND MOTHER



PREFACE.

IT is the ambition of the following pages to be, in a humble manner, supplemental to the Boyle Lectures of the late Rev. F. D. Maurice, a new edition having been issued this year of his no less captivating than profound work on the Religions of the World.¹

It is now more than thirty years since those lectures were delivered, and, as the authorities which I quote are for the most part of more recent date, I venture to hope that I may interest my

¹ *The Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity.*
(Macmillan and Co.)

readers by enabling them to see, at little cost of time, how the fruitful historical researches and speculations of the last quarter-century have but served to increase the value of Professor Maurice's views, both as a historian and as a metaphysician.

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THE FOREGLEAMS OF CHRISTIANITY.

WE owe to the recently created department of History, called the 'Science of Religion,' a careful analysis and definition of the various elements that are common to the doctrines, rites, and prescriptions of Christianity, and to those of the religions which preceded it ; and that such elements should be found could not but have been expected by all who accept the unequivocal statement of St. Paul concerning the Gentile world :—'The wrath of God 'is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness, because *that which may be known of God is 'manifest in them* ; for God hath showed it unto them. 'For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the 'world *are clearly seen, being understood by the things that 'are made*, even His eternal power and Godhead ; so 'they are without excuse.'¹

¹ Rom. i. 18-20.

But the new science would but half fulfil its purpose if it contented itself with a mere analysis, for it is already sufficiently advanced to demonstrate :—

Firstly, that the elements of truth, which lay scattered in the various religions and philosophies anterior to Christianity, can only be satisfactorily harmonised in the creed of the Catholic Church.

Secondly, that, apart from that creed, the more advanced in tone, the more pure in aspiration have been religions and philosophies, the less consistent were the doctrines of their several metaphysical systems either with facts or with each other.

Thirdly, that the hand of God is manifest in the succession of religious developments which gradually prepared mankind for the revelation of Christianity in ‘the fulness of time.’¹

The purpose of the following pages is to collect within a small compass the admissions of some of the principal and latest authorities,² which, it is hoped, will justify the

¹ *Gal.* iv. 4.

² For the conclusions contained in the following pages the authorities to whom I am most indebted are :—Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*** ; Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique** ; Ernst Curtius, *History of Greece***, translated by A. W. Ward ; Emanuel Deutsch, Articles on *The Talmud** and *Islam** in the *Quarterly Review* ; H. Doherty,

submission of the foregoing conclusions to the reader's consideration.

*Philosophy of Religion***; Comte de Gobineau, *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie centrale***; Andrew Jukes, *The Restitution of all Things***; Victor de Laprade, *Le Sentiment de la Nature avant le Christianisme***; François Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient***, *Les premières Civilisations***, and *Les Sciences occultes en Asie**; F. D. Maurice, *The Religions of the World***; Alfred Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique*, and *La Terre et l'Homme*; Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion***, and *Chips from a German Workshop***; Otfried Müller, *Dissertations on the Eumenides of Æschylus***, and *Ancient Art and its Remains***, translated by J. Leitch; L. Preller, *Les Dieux de l'ancienne Rome (Römische Mythologie)***, traduction de Dietz; John Ruskin, *The Queen of the Air***; W. Sewell, *Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato***.

For information of the facts on which these conclusions are based I am also much indebted to :—Clarisse Bader, *La Femme grecque***, and *La Femme biblique*; Barthélemy St. Hilaire, *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, and *Mahomet et le Coran*; C. Beulé, *L'Art grec avant Péricles***, and *Fouilles et Découvertes***; E. Biot, *Considérations sur les anciens Temps de l'Histoire chinoise**; S. Birch, *Egypt in Ancient History from the Monuments*; Emile Boutmy, *Philosophie de l'Architecture en Grèce*; Emile Burnouf, *La Science des Religions*, and *La Légende athénienne*; Victor Cousin, *Histoire générale de la Philosophie**, *Fragments de Philosophie ancienne**, and *Du Vrai, du Beau et du Bien**; Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*; G. Desmousseaux, *Les hauts Phénomènes de la Magie***; V. Duruy, *Histoire romaine**; F. W. Farrar, *Seekers after God***; James Fergusson, *History of Architecture**; Henry Houssaye, *Histoire d'Apelles*; A. de Jancigny, *Histoire de l'Inde**; Eliphaz Lévi (A. L. Constant), *Histoire de la Magie**; G. Lewes, *Biographical History of Philosophy*; Dean Milman, *History of the Jews**; Theo-

dor Mommsen, *History of Rome**, translated by W. Dickson; Mounicou, *Mythologie japonaise*; A. Noel des Vergers, *L'Etrurie et les Etrusques***; Alexis Pierron, *Histoire de la Littérature grecque*,** and *Histoire de la Littérature romaine***; E. B. Pusey, *Lectures on Daniel***; De Quatrefages, *Unité de l'Espèce humaine***; Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé, *Notice sommaire des Monuments égyptiens exposés dans les Galeries du Musée du Louvre***; Emile Saisset, *Essais sur la Philosophie et la Religion au XIX^e Siècle***; George Smith, *Assyria** in *Ancient History from the Monuments*; William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities***, *Classical Dictionary**, and *Concise Dictionary of the Bible**; Alfred Sudre, *Histoire de la Souveraineté*; Henri Taine, *Philosophie de l'Art en Grèce*; Amédée Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois**; S. Vaux, *Persia in Ancient History from the Monuments*.

The works marked * are much, and those marked ** particularly recommended to the reader.

I.

1. All revelation of Deity to man is either *internal* revelation, without which no other would be possible ; *external* revelation, in the perception of external objects and events ; or *divinatory* revelation, by means of conventional signs.

As it may be concluded from the above-quoted words of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, that at least internal and external revelation have been vouchsafed more or less to all mankind,¹ the following list gives the various

¹ That St. Paul's doctrine on this point was thus understood by the Fathers of the Church is strongly argued by the passages from their writings quoted by Max Müller in *Chips from a German Workshop*. Among them is the following from the first *Apologia* of St. Justin Martyr :—‘ We have been taught that Christ is the ‘ first-begotten of God, and we have already demonstrated that He is ‘ the Word, in which all mankind participates (Λόγον, οὗ πάντων γένος ‘ ἀνθρώπων μετέσχε). Those, whose life has been in conformity ‘ with the Word, are Christians, even should they have been taken ‘ for atheists ; such have been, among the Greeks, Socrates, Heraclitus, and those who have resembled them, and, among foreigners ‘ (ἐν βαρβάρους), Abraham, Ananias, Azarias, Misael, Elijah, and ‘ many others.’ . . . ‘ Likewise those who have lived in times past

elements of *external* revelation, which the Science of Religion has discerned and analysed, and here placed according to the order of time in which it tends to show that men were first capable of receiving them ; the definition of each phase of man's conception of Deity being confined to the truth which it contained, without reference for the present to the heresy of which the exaggeration of that truth was too often the nucleus.

1. FETISHISM (Revelation of God in the Phenomena of Nature) :—That there is something venerable manifested in Nature.

2. PANTHEISM (Revelation of God in the Forces of Nature) :—That Nature is not merely matter, but that it is venerable because animated by something superior to what is visible or tangible in it.

‘in a manner contrary to the Word have been perverse, enemies of Christ, and murderers of those who lived according to the Word. Those who make the Word the rule of their life are Christians ; men without fear and at peace with themselves.’ Another passage is from the *Stromata* of St. Clement of Alexandria :—‘God is the cause of all good things ; but of some He is the primary cause, as of the Old and New Testaments ; and of others He is only the secondary cause, as of philosophy. Perhaps, however, did He act as primary cause in giving philosophy to the Greeks, before they were called by the Lord. For it has educated the Greek world, as the Law has educated the Hebrews, for Christ. Philosophy, accordingly, is a preparation, opening a way for those who are made perfect by Christ.’

3. POLYTHEISM (Revelation of God in Variety) :—
That Nature is made up of many distinct parts and individualities, and, consequently, that the manifestations of the something animating Nature are manifold and distinct.

4. ANTHROPOMORPHISM (Revelation of God in Man) :
—That of these distinct parts and individualities, some being more animated than others by the aforesaid something, none familiarly known is more so than Man, especially his free-will, affections, and reason.

5. DUALISM (Revelation of God in Righteousness) :—
That there is a *radical* difference between some human affections and others, and that the whole universe (the ‘macrocosm’) is divided like the human soul (the ‘microcosm’) into two radically distinct elements—Good and Evil.

6. MONOTHEISM (Revelation of God in Unity) :—
That all Good is derived from one centre—God.

7. THEISM (Revelation of God in History) :—That in God resides the principle of all power, and that, consequently, nothing separated from God has self-existence or uncontrolled action.¹

¹ On the order of this evolution, vide Victor de Laprade’s beautiful work, *Le Sentiment de la Nature avant le Christianisme*, to which this treatise is much indebted.

As races and societies passed in their conception of Deity from any one of these stages of external revelation to another, their earlier conceptions were, according to their idiosyncrasies and circumstances, more or less retained or more or less modified.

It must, however, be remembered—firstly, that in most societies there are individuals who are far ahead of their co-religionists ; secondly, that, on the other hand, a long time usually has to elapse before a new revelation can be satisfactorily defined for didactic or polemical purposes, so that the inner consciousness of a race, or society, is often in advance of its metaphysical system ; thirdly, that the most intense conviction of the members of a religious community or philosophical school is not always the basis or even the principal feature of its metaphysical system, either on account of careless reasoning, or the difficulty of the problems it has to resolve, even when it has not been drawn up by a teacher in advance of his disciples, or when it is not fettered by the authority of an earlier system.¹

By the side of these successive revelations of Deity external to self, MYSTICISM is the revelation of Deity

¹ Thus a metaphysical system based on the most intense convictions of Stoicism would have been Dualistic, and not, as was the case, decidedly Pantheistic.

within self—author of ‘that peace which the world cannot give.’¹ In the absence of this interior there could be no exterior revelation of Deity ; for without an experimental knowledge, however slight or vague, of Divine Love, Wisdom, and Life, it would be impossible to form an idea of their nature, or even to conceive their existence.² But there is, of course, a great difference of *degree* between the *vague* intuition of all men who are not totally depraved, and the *clear* inward sight of the relatively few who can be legitimately called Mystics. There is, moreover, a PSEUDO-MYSTICISM, which is the more difficult to discern at first sight from true Mysticism, that Divine influx and a deceitful imagination are not, for a time at least, incompatible in the same individual.

Opposed to Mysticism is MATERIALISM, or the sensual enjoyment and perception of external things without the concurrence or awakening of any sense of Deity.

These internal and external revelations of Deity, which are actual perceptions, ‘the evidence of things

¹ It has been happily said that ‘mysticism is to religion what love is to marriage.’ Vide the chapter entitled *De la disposition religieuse appelée mysticité* in Madame de Staël’s *De l’Allemagne*, and Chapters V. (entitled *The Experimental Knowledge of God the End of all Christian Endeavour*), VII., VIII., XI., XV., and XXII., in Dean Goulburn’s *Pursuit of Holiness*.

² Vide 1 *John* iv. 8.

unseen'¹ (*i.e.* by the carnal eyes), must be distinguished from *divinatory* revelation, which is effected either supernaturally or providentially by means of conventional signs (such as the letters of the alphabet), addressed objectively to one or more of the five external senses, or, in the first instance, by representations produced subjectively in the imagination of a seer. Divinatory revelation presupposes at least internal revelation ; for a sign cannot have a conventional meaning, or a vision a spiritual meaning, unless that meaning be already apprehended.

Divination serves, firstly, to prevent wrong and excessive conclusions from being drawn from spiritual perceptions, by defining and combining their elements ; the method of Philosophy (induction and deduction) being insufficient for that purpose, when the heart of man is 'deceitful above all things and desperately wicked ;'² secondly, to make known general or special Divine commands to individuals or communities, unable sufficiently to discern 'the still small voice'³ of God within the soul ; thirdly, to supply a criterion for distinguishing true Mysticism from Pseudo-Mysticism.

Divination must not be confounded with *Vaticination*, which is the enunciation of external or internal revelation, or with *Prophecy*, which is any enunciation that has been

¹ *Heb.* xi. 1.² *Jer.* xvii. 9.³ *1 Kings* xix. 12.

sanctioned by Divination ; the office of the *Divine* (μάντις, ἑξηγητής) being to interpret conventional signs supernaturally or providentially produced (such as the articulations or the handwriting of an unconscious medium); or, again, the visions of a seer (rôeh, chôzeh) ; that of the *Vates* (nâbi), to express in his own language his own spiritual perceptions ; and that of the *Prophet*,¹ to speak in any manner in the name of a Divinity, who sanctions his utterances by conventional signs.²

Philosophy is based on the *scientific* observation of natural and spiritual phenomena, whereas Prophecy is the only subject-matter of Theology.

2. The perception of God in Nature is a revelation chiefly of a pervading Spirit, acting on things according to the mode and degree in which they are recipients

¹ ' In classical Greek, προφήτης signifies *one who speaks for another*, specially *one who speaks for a god*, and so interprets his ' will to man.'—Article *Prophet* in Smith's *Concise Dictionary of the Bible*. Comp. *Exod.* vii. 1, and iv. 16.

² It is, however, to be observed that these offices have often been united in the same individual; and that the sanction of Divination, which converts Vaticination or any other enunciation into Prophecy, may be prospective.

The only form of Divination appealed to at present in Catholic Christendom is the permanent witness of the Church, as expressed by her authorised representatives, to the Divine origin of a document or to the truth of a tradition.

thereof ; the perception of God in human Righteousness, a revelation chiefly of an absolute Standard of right and wrong ; and the perception of God in History, a revelation chiefly of an Almighty Will, making all things work together for good—bringing good even out of evil.

The dogma, consequently, of the Holy Trinity in Unity, proclaims the inestimable truth, that the God dwelling in the World of the Pantheist, the God antagonistic to the World of the Dualist, and the God invisible creator and omnipotent master of the World of the Theist are One—the God of the Mystic, who exists eternally in three hypostases—God in His Emanation, which is Life ; God in His Form, which is Thought ; and God in His Essence, which is Love.

The *something* in Nature which acts on the æsthetic faculty, so as to make men look up in veneration on the sunrise, the star-spangled heavens, the huge mountains, the vast ocean, or the exuberant vegetation of the forest, is the evidence that external things are, as their own souls, the recipients of the life which is not their own, of a life beyond the ken of a mere physiologist ; but which, manifest to the poet's second sight, is the substance of all real and perfect beauty.¹

¹ Θεῶν πλήρη πάντα.—*Laws*. Vide the Discourses of Socrates on Beauty in the *Phædrus* and the *Banquet*.

There is much, on the other hand, in Nature which is offensive even to the æsthetic sense; and the daily spectacle of disease, pain, dissolution, and angry strife forbade extra-human Nature alone, and superficially observed, to reveal but very imperfectly the Divine Arche-type of the World as it should be, and, still less, omnipotent Love. For who can be blind to the evidences in Creation of the ancient, deeply-rooted, and tremendous power of Evil: things which are revolting to the æsthetic sense; things which shock reason, as being irreconcilable with Divine order; and things which shock the moral sense, as being actively antagonistic to Divine order? The most enthusiastic optimist can hardly maintain that a decomposed corpse is beautiful in any sense of the word; that the undeserved sufferings of infants or of the lower animals are in conformity with Divine order; or that the temptations to which men are exposed from their own diseased passions, from other men, or from beings of a still more depraved race, contribute directly to the realisation of Divine order. Can one, for instance, rationally attribute to the direct action of a beneficent Creator, if not the nerves of the poor dumb animals liable to vivisection, at any rate the horrible desire recently manifested by many of our fellow-countrymen to benefit by atrocities unparalleled

in the history of human crime? Geology, moreover, shows how ancient must have been even the physical action of 'the Prince of this World'¹ on the surface of our planet. 'We wrestle,' writes St. Paul,² 'against 'principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the 'darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in 'high places.' These 'principalities,' 'powers,' and 'rulers' were surely not in the Apostle's mind mere abstractions or blind impersonal forces, fresh from the Creator's hands.³ It is on this account that hope is so much insisted on, in the Apostolic writings,⁴ as one of the most essential elements of Christian life—the *unselfish* hope that has been so well expressed by a great living poet:—

'Oh, yet we trust that, somehow, good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pangs of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood ;

That nothing walks with aimless feet ;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete ;

¹ *John* xvi. 11.

² *Eph.* vi. 12.

³ Vide Vaughan's *Earnest Thoughts for Earnest Men*, p. 167.

⁴ Vide especially *Rom.* viii. 21–28.

That not a worm is cloven in vain ;
That not a moth with vain desire
Is shrivel'd in a fruitless fire,
Or but subserves another's gain.'¹

Of extra-human Nature, indeed, to the sky alone was due an occasional glimpse of a region of peace, stability, and unsullied loveliness ; but, even up aloft, the usually beneficent sun occasionally shoots down the arrow of pestilence or death, the angry storm-clouds gather to do battle with the light, and provoke, if they do not wield, the terrible thunderbolt, and the harpy winds awake to ravage the ripening harvests ; though, on the other hand, even the cruel powers of earth are not without beneficence : they resuscitate the buried seed-corn, and perhaps the buried corpse ; they receive fecundation from the powers above, and nourish maternally the races of men and animals ; and they spring up in the form of limpid fountains to cleanse and to heal. The sun-illumined and unclouded sky, however, shaped for mankind its first idea of a power at least more friendly than those of the earth ; so that the name of the sky (Dyaus, Zeus, Theos, Ju-piter, Deus, &c.) is that which has successively passed among so many branches of the great Aryan race to the supreme divinity of

¹ Tennyson, *In Memoriam*.

Anthropomorphism, Dualism, Monotheism, and Christian Theism ; and, in looking up to the sky, men of all races and at all times have uttered fervent prayers, and have learned to call upon a 'Father, who is in Heaven.'

In the hero venerated by the Anthropomorphist, and especially in the saint venerated by the Dualist, there is quite a new revelation of Deity: viz., the evidence of something in the human soul, which, however mixed with extraneous impurity, is nevertheless susceptible of being, at least ideally, abstracted, like metal from its ore, and which, thus extracted, would present a specimen of something absolutely perfect. This is a revelation of God the Word, Archetype of the World as it should be, 'the true Light which lighteth every man,'¹ and 'the Judge' of all creatures; because in Him resides the absolute standard, the supreme *idéai* of the Beautiful, the True, and the Good, in the Universe (the Beautiful being the splendour of divine Order, cognisable by the æsthetic sense; the True, that which is in conformity with divine Order, cognisable by the intellectual sense or reason; and the Good, that which contributes to the realisation of divine Order, cognisable by the moral sense, to which we owe the idea of Duty).²

¹ *John* i. 9.

² 'Le Beau est la splendeur de l'Ordre ; le Vrai, ce qui est con-

It is the *fatality* of Evil to generate *its* Word, and consequently to produce in the Universe, by *its* Spirit, the Untrue and the Unbeautiful, as well as the Unjust; but it is frequently the *policy* of Evil to respect the True and the Beautiful, and to appropriate them, within the limits of the possible, to its own dark purposes; so that the Tempter was able to offer *for a time* to the Saviour not only 'all the kingdoms of the world,' but 'the glory of them' also.¹ As the True and the Beautiful are capable of being thus detached by Evil from the Good, it follows that the Fetishist's revelation of the Divine Word in the Beautiful, and the Pantheist's revelation of the Divine Word in the True, were not only imperfect,

'forme à l'Ordre; le Bien, ce qui concourt à l'Ordre.'—*Definition of the late M. de la Rosière.*

The Beautiful, in the narrowest meaning of the word, as used in the above definition, is the manifestation of the Divine in the external properties of material things; but the True is also called intellectual Beauty, and the Good, moral Beauty, when viewed as the objects of feeling rather than of perception; for every feeling generates a corresponding perception, and every perception is generated by a corresponding feeling.

The Divine is manifested in the external properties of material things by their *correspondence* with spiritual things; and it is because even the former are, in their manner, recipients both of Divine and diabolical life, that there is such a correspondence between the material and the spiritual world.

¹ *Matt.* iv. 8. *Comp. John* viii. 44 with *James* ii. 19.

but of little consequence to man's vocation, which is to attain to union with Divine Love ; for the only access to Divine Love is through the Good,¹ which is the revelation of the Word to the Dualist ; and, although the only divine, if not also the only perfect, realisation of the Good on this earth has been the Incarnation of the Saviour, the partial realisation of the Good in the more or less isolated virtues of præ-Christian saints, sufficed at least to furnish the *ideal* of a perfect humanity.²

The last external revelation of Deity, that of omnipotent Love, required a more diligent and scientific observation of Nature than that of the Fetishist or even of the Pantheist. Instead of merely observing the phenomena or forces of Nature in themselves, Theism argues the doctrine of final causes from the study of their sequence and concatenation, as seen from the standpoint of Dualism, and concludes that, notwithstanding the evidence of temporary evil, 'all things are working together for good.'³

Philosophy, apart from a profound Mysticism, proves

¹ Hence Christ's words :—'No man cometh to the Father but by Me. If ye had known Me, ye should have known My Father also.'—*John* xiv. 6-7.

² Already to Abraham the command was given :—'Walk before Me, and be thou perfect.'—*Gen.* xvii. 1.

³ *Rom.* viii. 28.

the existence of the Spirit by the Platonic method of arguing Substance from Accident ; and the existence of the Word and of the Father by the Cartesian method of arguing Cause from Effect.

The Mystic's knowledge of God, being entirely experimental, only requires the aid of philosophy or theology to guard him from delusions, and to define his perceptions for the benefit of others. In the Persian story, a Philosopher said to a Mystic: 'All that you see, I know ;' and the Mystic returned: 'All that you know, I see.'

II.

1. There is no lower stage of religiosity than Fetishism, which differs from Materialism merely in looking up to, instead of down upon, material Nature.¹ Its essence

¹ 'What in such a time as ours it requires a Prophet or Poet to teach us, namely, the stripping off of those poor undevout wrappings, nomenclatures and scientific hearsays,—this, the ancient earnest soul, as yet unencumbered with these things, did for itself. The world, which is now divine only to the gifted, was then divine to whosoever would turn his eye upon it. He stood bare before it face to face. "All was Godlike or God:" Jean Paul still finds it so; the giant Jean Paul, who has power to escape out of hearsays: but then there were no hearsays. Canopus shining down over the desert, with its blue diamond brightness (that wild blue spirit-like brightness, far brighter than we ever witness here), would pierce into the heart of the wild Ishmaelitish man, whom it was guiding through the solitary waste there. To his wild heart, with all feelings in it, with no *speech* for any feeling, it might seem a little eye, that Canopus, glancing out on him from the great deep Eternity; revealing the inner Splendour to him. Cannot we understand how these men *worshipped* Canopus; became what we call Sabeans, worshipping the stars?' . . .

'And look what perennial fibre of truth was in that. To us also, through every star, through every blade of grass, is not a God made visible, if we will open our minds and eyes? We do not worship in that way now: but is it not reckoned still a merit, proof of what we call a "poetic nature," that we recognise how every

is æsthetic emotion ; often, indeed, conducive to genuine religious feeling, but so easily diverted from connection with the moral sense, that all purely Fetishistic religions have tolerated the grossest immorality and cruelty, even as an accompaniment to the most solemn acts of worship. It is the same feeling of awe inspired by the beauties of Nature or the fine arts, which accounts for a certain religiosity occasionally expressed in the writings even of such poets as Byron or Victor Hugo, and in the rites of the most degraded savages. Fetishism is, in fact, the worship of physical Beauty, and the result of all sensual impressions which affect the æsthetic faculty, whether produced by Nature alone, or by the work of man (such as architecture or music) achieved in imitation or after the manner of Nature, and whether or no these impressions be instrumental to the awakening of any other feeling, or to the conveyance by symbolism of a truth to the understanding.

Mere æsthetic emotion is, however, not to be de-
' object has a divine beauty in it ; how every object still verily is "a
' window through which we may look into Infinitude itself?" He
' that can discern the loveliness of things, we call him Poet, Painter,
' Man of Genius, gifted, loveable. These poor Sabeans did even
' what he does—in their own fashion. That they did it, in what
' fashion soever, was a merit ; better than what the entirely stupid
' man did, what the horse and camel did—namely, nothing !"—
Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*.

spised by him who would 'receive the kingdom of God as a little child.'¹ Before one is fit for 'Ascetic' or 'Puritanical' religion, the tendency of which is to *forsake* all things in order to approach God, it is necessary to accept in humility 'Ritualistic' religion, the tendency of which is to *make use* of all things in order to approach God. In the case of individuals, as of societies and races, the formalism and æstheticism of the Law must precede the mysticism and asceticism required by the Gospel; the elaborate rites of the Temple, the worship 'in spirit and in truth'² of the God who is as present to true believers on Mount Gerizim as on Mount Moriah.

There is, in fact, a mysterious *correspondence* between the natural and the spiritual world,³ so that the æsthetic faculty, rightly cultivated and directed, may be made highly conducive to the awakening of the soul to a sense of Divine presence; and, indeed, its gratification is dangerous if not thus sanctified.

It has, consequently, pleased the Allwise Being to have regard to man's weakness, in providing the most beautiful and attractive imagery in both sections of His written Word, and to permit, since He has even enjoined, the use

¹ *Luke* xviii. 17; *Matt.* xviii. 3.

² *John* iv. 21.

³ As expressed by the old adage, attributed to Hermes Trismegistus:—'*Quod superius sicut quod inferius.*'

of Music, Rhythm, Architecture, Vestments, Processions, Pilgrimages, and the like, in the celebration of public worship. It must, however, be remembered that all rites, ceremonies, and other æsthetic incentives to piety become ‘idolatrous,’¹ when they defeat their object by drawing

¹ ‘Idol is *Eidolon*, a thing seen, a symbol. It is not God, but a Symbol of God ; and perhaps one may question whether any the most benighted mortal ever took it for more than a Symbol. I fancy, he did not think that the poor image his own hands had made *was* God ; but that God was emblemmed by it, that God was in it some way or other. And now in this sense, one may ask, Is not all worship whatsoever a worship by Symbols, by *eidola*, or things seen ? Whether *seen*, rendered visible as an image or picture to the bodily eye ; or visible only to the inward eye, to the imagination, to the intellect : this makes a superficial, but no substantial difference. It is still a Thing Seen, significant of Godhead ; an Idol. The most rigorous Puritan has his Confession of Faith, and intellectual Representation of Divine things, and worships thereby ; thereby is worship first made possible for him. All creeds, liturgies, religious forms, conceptions that fitly invest religious feelings, are in this sense *eidola*, things seen. All worship whatsoever must proceed by symbols, by Idols :—we may say, all Idolatry is comparative, and the worst Idolatry is only *more* idolatrous.

‘Where, then, lies the evil of it ? Some fatal evil must lie in it, or earnest prophetic men would not on all hands so reprobate it. Why is Idolatry so hateful to Prophets ? It seems to me as if, in the worship of those poor wooden symbols, the thing that had chiefly provoked the Prophet, and filled his inmost soul with indignation and aversion, was not exactly what suggested itself to his own thought, and came out of him in words to others, as the thing. The rudest heathen that worshipped Canopus, or the Caabah Black Stone, he, as we saw, was superior to the horse that worshipped

attention from, instead of to, the presence of Deity, or by sinking worship into routine. Their economy, restriction, and adaptation to the manifold idiosyncrasies of the faithful is, consequently, an important duty of the Church.

‘nothing at all ! Nay there was a kind of lasting merit in that poor act of his ; analogous to what is still meritorious in Poets : recognition of a certain endless *divine* beauty and significance in stars and all natural objects whatsoever. Why should the Prophet so mercilessly condemn him ? The poorest mortal worshipping his Fetish, while his heart is full of it, may be an object of pity, of contempt and avoidance, if you will ; but cannot surely be an object of hatred. Let his heart *be* honestly full of it, the whole space of his dark narrow mind illuminated thereby ; in one word, let him entirely *believe* in his Fetish,—it will then be, I should say, if not well with him, yet as well as it can readily be made to him, and you will leave him alone, unmolested there.

‘But here enters the fatal circumstance of Idolatry, that, in the era of the Prophets, no man’s mind *is* any longer honestly filled with his Idol or Symbol. Before the Prophet can arise who, seeing through it, knows it to be mere wood, many men must have begun dimly to doubt that it was little more. Condemnable Idolatry is *insincere* Idolatry. Doubt has eaten out the heart of it : a human soul is seen clinging spasmodically to an Ark of the Covenant, which it half feels now to have become a Phantasm. This is one of the balefullest sights. Souls are no longer *filled* with their Fetish ; but only pretend to be filled, and would fain make themselves feel that they are filled. “You do not believe,” said Coleridge ; “you only believe that you believe.” It is the final scene in all kinds of Worship and Symbolism ; the sure symptom that death is now nigh. It is equivalent to what we call Formulism, and Worship of Formulas, in these days of ours.’—Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*.

Of populations that have attained to a high degree of civilisation, the Turanian have shown the least disposition to advance beyond Fetishism, though occasionally rising to Pantheism, as in the philosophies of Lao Tseu and Confucius ; or sinking to Materialism, as shown by the lives of so large a proportion of the luxurious classes from the earliest times in China. Even the Anthropomorphic and Dualistic religions borrowed from other races (such as Buddhism) have among the Turanians rapidly deteriorated and become Fetishistic, and their leading doctrines misunderstood, except by a select few.¹ The Fetishistic element always remained strong also in

¹ Christianity, however, began at one time to strike deep roots in Japan, the heroic labours of St. Francis Xavier and the other early Jesuit missionaries in that country being crowned with the most startling success. Their work was ruined, not of course by the cruel persecutions of its enemies, but by the arrival in the far East of European traders, whose conduct soon cast a slur on everything connected with the unknown West. The supernatural strength and universal adaptability of Christianity are strikingly brought into relief by its success, when it had a fair chance, among populations so materialistic as the Turanians ; for although Buddhism, under State patronage, may justly boast of the prodigious quantity of its Turanian converts, and has even here and there produced among them such a saintly life as that of Hiuen-thsang (the pilgrim monk whose biography has recently been translated by M. Stanislas Julien), what was so remarkable about the Japanese Christians of the 16th and 17th centuries was the large proportion, in their total number, of those who proved themselves ready and willing to seal their faith in martyrdom.

the popular cultus of the Hamites, although the metaphysical systems of their theologians have been, from an early period of their history, profoundly Pantheistic.

The transition from Fetishism to Pantheism resulted from development of the inductive faculty.

Pantheism transcends Fetishism in being able to trace the Divine manifested in natural phenomena to the action of intelligent force; consequently, in perceiving that, however intimately connected, there is nevertheless a difference between spirit and matter, and that the former is superior to the latter. To the Fetishist, for instance, the sun's external splendour sufficed to reveal the presence of a god; but the Pantheist is aware that there is something still more divine in the intelligent force regulating the sun's movements and its action on the earth. The idea of spirit as at once distinct from and connected with matter, and the idea of a *hierarchy*, or gradation of Divinity in the Universe, are, in fact, the two great truths of Pantheism.

The heresy of Pantheism—a most dangerous heresy—lies in its exaggeration of the connection between spirit and matter, as well as of the connection between divine and natural life—in the notion that this connection is fatal and indissoluble. Nor are the consequences of the heresy less pernicious when Pantheism has passed from a Polytheistic to a Monotheistic stage, and has found a

philosophical expression in the doctrine of *Emanation*, according to which *all* things, both spiritual and material, both good and evil, are *generated* by or consubstantial with the one Self-existent Being, and are consequently divine, though not equally divine.

This Pantheistic Monotheism has, indeed, little beyond its fundamental idea of unity, in common with the Monotheism which springs from Dualism, and finds a resolution in Theism ; for, (1) Pantheistic Monotheism, assuming the Universe to be a generation of the Self-existent Being, and not being able to detach the Generated from the Generator (as in Catholic Theology the Word cannot be detached from the Father),¹ implies

¹ On the difference between the theodicy of Catholic theology, and the Pantheistic theodicy of the Alexandrian school, which also admitted a Trinity, Emile Saisset writes : ‘ Dans la Trinité chrétienne le monde est profondément séparé de Dieu. Le Père, le Fils et le Saint-Esprit forment, si l’on peut ainsi parler, un cercle divin. Ces trois personnes n’ont de rapport nécessaire qu’entre elles. Elles se suffisent ; elles ne supposent rien au delà. Si le monde dépend de Dieu, c’est par un lien tout différent de celui qui enchaîne l’une à l’autre les personnes divines. Le monde n’est pas engendré de Dieu, c’est-à-dire formé de sa substance ; il ne procède pas de Dieu, dans la rigueur théologique ; il est librement tiré du néant, c’est-à-dire créé. De là une séparation radicale entre la nature divine et l’univers ; de là l’indépendance, la liberté de Dieu, et, dans cet être auguste, une sorte de personnalité sublime dont la nôtre offre quelque image ; de là enfin, dans l’ordre moral, des conséquences inépuisables. Dans la doctrine alexandrine, au contraire,

the negation of free-will either in God or in any other being,¹ whereas Theism necessarily implies a free Creation and Providence on the part of God, and, unless it be a very shallow Theism, the possibility of free obedience on the part of Man; (2) Pantheistic Monotheism, assuming that *all* things *emanate* from one Self-existent Being, can only admit, if it consents to admit as much, a difference of *degree* between good and

‘les degrés de l’existence divine, au lieu de former un cercle, se déploient sur une ligne qui se prolonge à l’infini. L’Unité engendre l’Intelligence, l’Intelligence l’Ame, l’Ame, à son tour, produit au-dessous d’elle d’autres êtres qui, à leur tour, en enfantent de nouveaux, jusqu’à ce qu’on arrive à un terme où la fécondité de l’être est absolument épuisée. Il en résulte un système où la fatalité préside, d’où sont exilées la personnalité et la liberté; où Dieu, décomposé en une série de degrés, se confond presque, en perdant son unité, avec tous les autres degrés de l’existence.’—*Essais sur la Philosophie et la Religion au XIX^{me} Siècle*.

¹ E. Saisset writes in criticism of Spinoza’s Pantheistic philosophy:—‘Ainsi tout est nécessaire: Dieu une fois donné, ses attributs sont également donnés, les déterminations de ces attributs, les âmes et les corps, l’ordre, la nature, le progrès de leur développement, tout cela est également donné. Dans ce monde géométrique, il n’y a pas de place pour le hasard, il n’y en a pas pour le caprice, il n’y en a pas pour la liberté. Au sommet, au milieu, à l’extrémité, règne une nécessité inflexible et irrévocable. S’il n’y a point de liberté ni de hasard, il n’y a point de mal. Tout est bien, car tout est ce qu’il doit être. Tout est ordonné, car toute chose a la place qu’elle doit avoir. La perfection de chaque objet est dans la nécessité relative de son être, et la perfection de Dieu est dans l’absolue nécessité qui lui fait produire nécessairement toutes choses.’

evil, whereas Theism perceives a difference of *essence*; (3) Pantheistic Monotheism, though admitting the existence of any number of invisible beings more powerful than man, and consequently the possibility of phenomena commonly called 'supernatural,' cannot accept the *miraculous*, as, according to its theory, the modes of operation of Nature's laws are unchangeable, because inseparable from the Divine essence, whereas to a consistent Theist these modes of operation have been created from nothing, and may consequently be suspended or even modified—provided, of course, that such modification by the Creator be not inconsistent with His own attributes;¹ (4) the Self-existent Being of Monotheistic Pantheism, from whom emanate evil as well as good, inertia as well as movement, must necessarily be assumed

¹ Or, as a Christian Platonist would say with more precision, if not inconsistent with the *ιδέαι* which have a *real* existence in God the Word.

The *Λόγος* of Plato is the second hypostasis also of the Alexandrian Trinity; but, according to the Pantheistic doctrine of the school, the *ιδέαι* have without exception a *perfect* realisation and the *Λόγος* a *divine* realisation in the *whole* World; whereas, according to Christian metaphysics, the *ιδέαι* have a *perfect* realisation in the World only where there has been no intervention of Evil (as in the axioms of mathematics and logic), and the Christian Church knows of no *divine* realisation of the *Λόγος* on earth but the humanity of Christ, which is, however, communicable to His saints. Vide 1 *John* iii. 9; and v. 4.

to be too impersonal, too abstract, or, as a Pantheist would say, too 'pure' a being to have the attributes of love, goodness, or activity; so that it is not astonishing that the popular cultus of Pantheistic religions have usually been addressed to beings, who, however superior to men, were, nevertheless, not held to be self-existent or even eternal;¹ whereas the love that is manifested in activity, and is inseparable from goodness, is an essential attribute of the Self-existent Being of Theism.

On the other hand, the Pantheist's assertion, that Nature is *in* God, is very different from the Materialist's, that Nature alone *is* God, and, although the latter may contend that he holds all things to be divine, as he is not able to grasp, like the former, the idea of a spiritual hierarchy in the Universe, he cannot but mean that he holds all things to be *equally* divine, which is tantamount to the assertion that nothing is divine.

Monotheistic Pantheism, with its division of the Universe into stages all assumed to be emanated from, but not equally near to, Self-existence, can only find a place for the truth of Dualism, that there is a signal difference between Good and Evil, by localising the latter in the

¹ One has never heard, for instance, of a popular cultus addressed to Svayamohu in India, to Ilu in Babylonia, or to Zarvan in Media.

lower stages of its cosmos ; but, even when Dualism is thus combined with or fitted into Pantheism, this can only be done very imperfectly, or at the expense of much contradiction with facts, owing to the impossibility of disposing two hierarchies—that of holiness and that of intellect and power—along the divisions of a single perpendicular line ; and what is still more unfortunate, even should a very high place have been assigned to holiness in the hierarchy,—under the empire of a system which is compelled by its logic to concede a certain degree of Divinity to everything, and to deny free-will—innocence and virtue are but means of rising in the scale of existence or preserving a rank already attained, or of escaping the painful consequences which are the fatal result of certain actions to the doer ; but there can be, strictly speaking, no moral *obligation*, binding those who are unambitious of nearness to the self-existence of an impersonal Deity ; so that pride, self-interest, and natural good inclinations would still be the only incentives to rectitude of moral conduct. It is, consequently, not surprising to find how callous is public opinion to the most outrageous violations of moral law in the greater part of the Asiatic continent, where an external conformity to the more or less Dualistic religions of Shem and Japheth has done little to modify the deeper convictions even of the mixed populations, and where a more

or less avowed Pantheism is still the basis of most metaphysical speculation.¹ The man, doubtless, who constantly tries to do his duty towards his neighbour is appreciated and respected, and he who pretends to a still more intimate union with Deity is revered and envied ; but the very absence of hypocrisy on the part, for instance, of a sovereign or a magistrate, who rids himself of any one happening to stand in his way without form of trial or alleged motive, shows how little public opinion is impressed with the idea of moral obligation.²

¹ Nothing can be more Pantheistic than the metaphysics of Babism, the last religion of any importance that has sprung up in Western Asia ; and that, dating only from about the year 1847, already bids fair to become dominant in the dominions of the Schah. Vide Count de Gobineau's charming and profound work, *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie centrale*, for an account of this new religion, as well as for the author's valuable remarks on the inflexible adherence of the Asiatics even to forms of worship dating from a remote antiquity. 'Tous ces chœurs,' he writes, 'que je viens de décrire : confréries dansant sur place, berbéryrs, corps de ballet, tout cela est l'héritage de la plus haute antiquité. Rien n'y est changé, ni la musique des tambourins, ni les battements de poitrine, ni les cantiques, ni les litanies. Les noms des divinités sont autres, voilà tout, et la Perse moderne entoure ses tazyèhs des mêmes cérémonies, des mêmes expiations, de la même pompe qui se voyaient jadis aux fêtes d'Adonis. Ce n'est pas un médiocre sujet de réflexion que de voir partout et toujours cette Asie si tenace dans ses résolutions, dans ses admirations, braver et traverser deux cultes aussi puissants que le Christianisme et l'Islam, pour conserver ou reprendre ses plus anciennes habitudes.'

² 'Les Asiatiques ne comprennent pas la raison d'Etat comme

Pantheism, perceiving the existence of a hierarchy in the Universe, cannot reasonably be unfavourable to

‘ nous. Sur ce point, peut-être, éclate plus encore que dans toutes nos autres conceptions juridiques la haute idée que nous nous faisons du droit et de ses exigences. En définissant ce qui autorise un pouvoir à frapper son adversaire comme coupable, on a été amené, dès l’origine des sociétés modernes, à répudier, pour ainsi dire, cette fameuse raison d’Etat, puisqu’on a essayé de la déguiser sous toutes sortes de voiles, dont les plus épais et les mieux brodés de raisons n’ont jamais réussi à tromper ni à satisfaire la conscience légale. Des crimes se sont commis contre le droit à toutes les époques de nos histoires et se commettront encore assurément ; mais on en a toujours rougi, et les condamnateurs ont été condamnés, je ne dis point par la postérité, mais par leurs contemporains, par leurs partisans, par leurs complices, par eux-mêmes.’ . . . ‘ Nous avons été hommes, c’est-à-dire souvent pervers, emportés, méchants, injustes ; mais nous ne sommes jamais entrés dans de telles voies que nous nous soyons trouvés à l’aise dans l’iniquité, et, aux plus horribles périodes de nos annales, l’hypocrisie règne, s’étale, nous dégoûte, mais nous honore.’ . . . ‘ En Asie, rien de cela n’existe. A vrai dire, la préoccupation du juste et de l’injuste y est si faible, que l’idée de la raison d’Etat, qui est déjà elle-même une excuse ou une ombre d’excuse inventée par la conscience en souffrance, n’y existe pas du tout. Là, non plus, pas de traces de ces individualités flétries par le sentiment commun ; de ces tribunaux, comme la chambre étoilée ou la chambre ardente ou les commissions militaires, dont on ne s’entretient chez nous qu’avec réprobation. Il n’y a pas d’hypocrisie non plus, et quand on tue, on ne met pas même en avant un simulacre d’instruction judiciaire : on tue parce qu’on est le plus fort ; on n’a pas de raisons à donner de ce qu’on fait, parce qu’on est le pouvoir, et l’opinion publique n’en demande pas et n’en demandera jamais, parce qu’elle pense que le pouvoir est

Mysticism, but it is no less favourable to Pseudo-Mysticism, from its inability to distinguish one from the other, both implying the union of an inferior with a superior being through the medium of a common quality. True Mysticism consists in the union of a creature with a Self-existent Being, whose essence is *love* (ἀγάπη),¹ a love implying activity and inseparable from righteousness, and such a union can only be effected through and in active charity; but ecstatic union with the Self-existent Being of Pantheism, who, from the exigencies of its doctrine, must be far too impersonal, far too 'pure,' to be actively loving or righteous, would be tantamount to the extinction of all *moral* life, however flattering to human pride or vanity.²

'de sa nature une combinaison née pour l'abus et dont l'unique légitimité est le fait d'exister. Chez nous, il n'est pas, dans les plus mauvais jours des pires révolutions, un tribunal installé dans un cabaret, qui ne cherche à imposer à ses victimes même la reconnaissance de son droit à les juger et du principe en vertu duquel il les juge. Si une de celles-ci laisse entendre qu'elle se regarde comme condamnée d'avance et qu'elle considère les formes suivies comme dérisoires, on la rappelle à l'ordre. Mais, en Asie, la naïveté du juge est complète.'—De Gobineau, *ibid*.

¹ 1 *John* iv. 8.

² Count de Gobineau thus writes of the fatal results of Pantheistic mysticism among the Sufis of Asia at the present day :—'A force d'ouïr répéter que le monde ne vaut rien et même n'existe pas, que l'affection de la femme et des enfants n'a rien que de faux, que l'homme sensé doit se renfermer en lui-même, se borner à lui-même,

There remains, indeed, the aspiration to a union with beings who, although not self-existent, are held to be immeasurably superior to mankind ; but in the hierarchy of Pantheism, unless very much qualified by Dualism, it is rather intellectual power than holiness that constitutes superiority, and misdirected intercourse with the invisible world leads to little but the mesmeric possession by evil

‘ne pas compter sur des amis qui le trahiraient, et que c’est dans son cœur seul qu’il peut trouver la félicité, la sécurité, le pardon facile de ses fautes, la plus tendre indulgence, et finalement Dieu, il serait bien extraordinaire que le plus grand nombre de ceux qui reçoivent de pareilles leçons et qui les voient si universellement approuvées, ne finissent pas par accepter comme des vertus l’égoïsme le plus naïf et toutes ses conséquences, dont la principale est le plus entier détachement de tout ce qui se passe autour d’eux dans la famille, dans la ville et dans la patrie.’ . . . ‘Un soufy de grade supérieur, arrivé à se considérer lui-même comme Dieu, admet sans peine et professe avec hauteur que la création au milieu de laquelle il se trouve momentanément et imparfaitement détenu, est toute entière digne de ses dédains. Il parle des prophètes comme d’avortons qui auraient encore grand chemin à faire pour arriver jusqu’à lui. Il ne reconnaît aucune distinction, quant à lui, entre le bien et le mal ; car, au point de vue où il en est, toutes les antinomies se résolvent dans le fait unique de son existence intérieure.’ . . . ‘Ce quiétisme, et non l’islam, voilà la grande plaie des pays orientaux.’ It is to be observed that the whole tendency of the Sufy philosophy, with its quietism and fatalism, is as radically opposed to the religion of Mahomet as was Gnosticism to Christianity, and that its connection even with the Schyite religion, which is Mahometan in little but pretension, is of the loosest kind.

spirits, which is so common in all countries where Pantheistic doctrines are flourishing.

Pantheism, consequently, fosters pride, quietism, and perilous intercourse with the invisible world in those who profess to live a higher life than their neighbours, and, like Fetishism, tolerates the grossest self-indulgence in the multitudes who are contented to substitute the charms of religiosity to the duties of religion.

The social organisation most in harmony with Pantheism is the Caste system, which assigns a different code of morals, and different gods to be worshipped, as well as different duties and privileges, to each caste.

The most appropriate symbol of a generating god is the phallus, which was the usual* form of the precious stones and aeroliths used to represent male divinities in the sanctuaries of many Hamitic nations.

The creed of Monotheistic Pantheism is well expressed in the famous inscription, mentioned by Plutarch, on the pedestal of a statue representing an Egyptian goddess:—‘I am all that has been, that is, and that is to come, and no mortal has ever lifted my veil,’¹ and in a definition of Victor Hugo—‘*Dieu est le moi latent de l’Univers patent.*’²

¹ Ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὄν καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν.

² And most poetically in the famous answer of Serapis to Nico-

Pantheism is particularly noticeable in the Hamitic theologies of Babylonia, Southern Arabia, Syria, Media, Etruria, India, and Egypt, though not unmixed with Anthropomorphic and Dualistic elements (probably due in part to Aryan or Shemitic influence), especially in those of India, Media, and Egypt, and equally favourable to Fetishism and Mysticism, Monotheism and Polytheism. It is also the basis of the philosophies of Lao-Tseu, Confucius, pseudo-Vyasa, pseudo-Patanjali, Heraclitus, the Alexandrians, the Kabalists, the Gnostics, the Sufis, Giordano Bruno, Spinoza, Hegel, Allan Kardec, &c.

These systems differ chiefly from their unequal connection with Mysticism on the one side and with Materialism on the other. In the Alexandrian school Pantheism is seen at its highest, and in the so-called 'Spiritist' sect of the present day almost at its lowest.

The transition of Pantheism from an undetermined to a Polytheistic stage¹ resulted partly from development of creon of Salamis, who had begged to know what manner of god he was :—

‘Εἰμὶ θεὸς τοιόσδε μαθεῖν, οἷον κ’ ἐγὼ εἶπω.
 Οὐράνιος κόσμος κεφαλῇ, γαστήρ δὲ θάλασσα.
 Γαῖα δέ μοι πόδες εἰσὶ, τὰδ’ οὐατ’ ἐν αἰθέρι κεῖται.
 “Ὅμμα τε τηλαυγὲς λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίου.’

¹ Max Müller has shown, in *Chips from a German Workshop*, that men must have had the notion of a god before they could have

the analytic faculty, and partly from the union, confederation, or mere intercourse of nations, tribes, and families rejoicing in different religious symbols according to their idiosyncrasies and circumstances.

The great moral danger of Polytheism is that, in obscuring the idea of Divine omnipotence and in fostering impure and morally insufficient conceptions of Deity, it permits cultus which satisfy by their æsthetic charm man's instinct of veneration, without exacting from him the *entire* surrender of his heart and will, and which consequently encourage him to try to serve at the same time 'God and Mammon.' This is particularly the case when Polytheism is Fetishistic or Pantheistic, for when Deity is revealed only in Nature, one cannot be oblivious of the fact that Nature in her parts is to a certain degree in man's power, and in all countries men have believed that there are means, known to the initiated, of increasing that power a hundred or a thousand fold ; so that a Polytheistic worship of God in Nature easily degenerates, without losing its æsthetic charm, into the celebration of real or supposed magical incantations, even when it does not become literally the medium of devil-worship. Nor is the moral danger much lessened when Polytheism acquired the notion of several gods, and that of several gods before that of *one only* God.

is Anthropomorphic, when worship is addressed to a plurality of human-shaped beings ; for the tendency is strong on the part of the worshippers to suspect or hope that so limited a god or goddess may be placed more or less in their power, if not otherwise, at least by his or her being sensible of flattery, or being easily moved by misplaced compassion to tolerance of human frailty. This tendency of Polytheists is usually betrayed by a strong preference for idols in the form of the *weaker* sex.¹

But even when the object of a cultus is clearly understood to be, mediately or immediately, the omnipotent Master of the Universe, morality is still endangered if, in the worshipper's conception of that object, the idea of Divine holiness or justice 'without respect of persons,'² and that of Divine benevolence towards all creatures,³ are not both, at least implicitly, contained.

Fragmentary conceptions of Deity, as the objects of special cultus, are consequently secured from moral danger only in communities, such as the Catholic Church,

¹ 'To embody the object of adoration in a female form is the natural tendency of polytheism and idolatry, because it unites the two opposite tendencies of looking up and looking down, worshipping a being as our God, and at the same time commanding it as our creature.'—W. Sewell, *Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato*.

² 1 *Pet.* i. 17.

³ *Ps.* cxlv. 9 ; xxxvi. 6-7 ; *Matt.* v. 44-5.

where the authorised invocations and symbols of Deity are so linked together in the minds of the faithful by the teaching of creeds, liturgies, &c., that they run no chance of getting *isolated*, and where they are not exposed, as of old in Israel, to fusion with the impure conceptions of other religions.

Under these conditions, however, the Church permits the use of many invocations and conceptions in divine worship—thus Christ is variously invoked and represented as the good Shepherd, the King of Saints, the Lamb in the midst of the throne, the Babe, the Crucified, the Entombed, the Risen, the Ascending Lord, &c.—because this variety is adapted to the manifold idiosyncrasies, circumstances, and moods of the faithful, and because the human soul is rarely able to sustain itself in adoration, without varying its conception of the object to which that adoration is addressed. In this as in most other matters, the more strictly the discipline of the Church is enforced and obeyed, the greater is the amount of liberty which can be safely indulged, where liberty is expedient.¹

¹ It is worthy of remark that it was precisely because the laws of Manu were so strictly and universally obeyed, and the Brahminical caste all powerful, from about the tenth to the end of the seventh century B.C., that it could admit every artistic conception

The transition from Pantheistic to Anthropomorphic Polytheism resulted chiefly from the deepening of men's consciousness of free-will and responsibility, and from

into its pantheon, and allow every system of philosophy to be taught in its schools, from the mystical doctrine of pseudo-Patanjali and the Yoguis, which rejected the necessity of outward ceremonies, to the doctrine of pseudo-Kapila, which was avowedly atheistic. The Brahminical caste, however, miscalculated its strength when it disdained to take active measures against Buddhism, until the latter threatened to upset the whole social organisation of the country. It was not in theocratic India, but in democratic Athens, when the city was practically under mob rule, that a Socrates was condemned to death merely on account of his theories. Recent discoveries are also beginning to dissipate the phantasmagoria of sacerdotal repression of intellect and imagination in ancient Egypt, where, in spite of political and ecclesiastical centralisation, each provincial town had its own symbolism, its own pantheon and hierarchy of divinities, its own theological and cosmogonical system, for the most part at variance with the traditions of the supreme sacerdotal authorities at Thebes. Nor was the Papacy much less tolerant of the independent creations of artists and the independent theories of metaphysicians, when it was at the apogee of its power in the thirteenth century, except in countries, such as Languedoc, where intellectual liberty had been abused to stir up whole populations against the Church's authority and discipline. The complete emancipation from sacerdotal control of the sculptors and painters who decorated the great ecclesiastical buildings of the three last mediæval centuries is even quite amazing. It was only from the middle of the sixteenth century, in consequence of the panic occasioned by the Reformation, and partly also of the influence acquired by a newly founded religious order, that a quite different policy has prevailed at the Vatican.

admiration of human beauty and intelligence, which awoke an admiration of the virtues in early times usually accompanying or believed to be connected with physical and intellectual superiority ; but it was also favoured by the gradual modification of languages,¹ which accidentally converted common into proper names,² and by the creations of epic poetry and plastic art.

¹ The richness and instability notably of the Aryan languages gave birth quite accidentally to many poetical myths, which were afterwards stereotyped in still more fascinating forms by poets and artists.

² *Zeús*, for instance, was once the common name of the sky, and was also the name of a god, because the sky was worshipped as a god ; but in course of time the word *Zeús* was supplanted by other words as a designation of the sky, so that its meaning was forgotten, but it continued in use as the proper name of a being supposed to dwell in the sky, and who inherited as a divine person most of the epithets which had been applied to the sky as a divine thing ; so that he was invoked as the spouse of the earth-goddess, the father of the river-gods and the sun-god, the broad-browed, the serene-countenanced, the thunderer, &c.

The philological school of Kuhn, represented in England by Max Müller, Cox, &c., has successfully traced most of the Aryan myths of the gods to a naturalistic origin ; but its favourite maxim, '*Nomina numina*,' may be abused. Names certainly supplied attributes and legends to anthropomorphised gods, but only exceptionally produced these gods themselves. It is not likely, for instance, that the word *Zeús* would have survived as a proper name when it was dropped as a common name, if the sky-god had not been *already* conceived as a being detached from the sky ; though, on

Anthropomorphism, recognising in the gods only superior men, and having, at its best, but an imperfect ideal of moral excellence in man, is more conducive to acts of virtue, especially of courage, energy, and generosity, than to the repression of vice ; and it even tends to aggravate the evils of Polytheism, when it fails to supply the moral ideal which is within its province, though unknown to Fetishism or Pantheism. So long as men worshipped the sun, for instance, they were not taught, but were simply allowed to remain in their vices, but when they worshipped Hercules they had before their eyes, as a model for imitation, the ideal portrait either of a hero or of a ruffian, according to the fancy of the artist or bard of the locality, or to the taste of his employers ; and unfortunately many of the gods of Anthropomorphism, who had spoiled the earlier naturalistic gods of their attributes, were from the beginning the heroes and heroines of stories, which were quite innocent, as well as true, when related of the sun or the moon, but much less to the credit of beings in a human shape. But, on the whole, the birth of the new gods was one of the most

the other hand, the sky was much more likely to remain in naked impersonality under a new name, when the attributes of its divinity had been carried off by the bearer of its old name. 'The reaction' consequently 'of language on ideas,' served rather to accentuate and fortify than to produce Anthropomorphism.

fortunate events in the history of mankind ;¹ for apart from a Mysticism rarely compatible with the vitiated con-

¹ 'Il n'y a dans l'histoire qu'une seule révolution, dont la grandeur dépasse celle que la Grèce représente ; cette révolution c'est le christianisme.' . . 'La Grèce est l'avènement de l'homme, de la liberté humaine, de l'idée d'humanité au sein du panthéisme écrasant des religions de l'Asie.' . . . 'Entre le mysticisme panthéiste de l'Orient et le mysticisme chrétien, la Grèce était destinée à commencer le travail de la conscience et de la liberté prenant possession d'elles-mêmes.' . . . 'Pendant plusieurs siècles, la Grèce adora l'homme divinisé pour se soustraire au culte oppresseur de la Nature ; son paganisme fut moins monstrueux que celui de l'Égypte et de l'Inde, car en laissant subsister l'idée de la liberté dans ses idoles, elle maintenait l'idée d'une volonté libre, d'une conscience morale dans l'homme, l'idée de la distinction du bien et du mal, l'idée d'une lutte possible contre la fatalité, tous ces fondements de la morale sapés par le panthéisme oriental. La Grèce a conduit les intelligences à la porte de la vraie religion. Quand l'idée chrétienne de l'Homme-Dieu devra se répandre, elle trouvera son chemin préparé par les religions et les philosophies helléniques ; elle s'assoiera tout naturellement dans les temples et dans les écoles fondées par le génie grec ; tandis qu'après dix-huit siècles elle n'a pu réussir encore à détrôner les cultes panthéistes de la haute Asie. Ainsi l'esprit de l'antiquité grecque et latine, que l'on a considéré longtemps comme le principal adversaire de l'Évangile, fut, au contraire, pour le christianisme, l'auxiliaire le plus puissant. Aux disciples de Platon et aux apôtres de Jésus, il ne fallut que le temps de se parler et de se comprendre pour s'embrasser au nom du *Λόγος* éternel. En un petit nombre de siècles, Athènes et Rome furent réconciliées à l'Évangile, à la doctrine du Verbe ; et, de nos jours encore, le christianisme n'a pas réussi à franchir sur la carte de l'ancien monde les limites de la philosophie grecque et de l'empire romain.'—V. de Laprade, *Le Sentiment de la Nature avant le Christianisme*.

dition of humanity, the most precious revelation of God is in Righteousness, and there could have been no revelation of God in Righteousness *to* man except *in* man.¹

¹ ‘You have heard of St. Chrysostom’s celebrated saying in reference to the Shekinah, or Ark of Testimony, visible Revelation of God, among the Hebrews : “The true Shekinah is Man !” ‘Yes, it is even so : this is no vain phrase ; it is veritably so. The ‘essence of our being, the mystery in us that calls itself “I”—ah, ‘what words have we for such things ?—is a breath of Heaven ; the ‘Highest Being reveals himself in man. This body, these faculties, ‘this life of ours, is it not all as a vesture for that Unnamed ? ‘“There is but one Temple in the Universe,” says the devout ‘Novalis, “and that is the Body of Man. Nothing is holier than ‘that high form. Bending before men is a reverence done to this ‘Revelation in the Flesh. We touch Heaven when we lay our hand ‘on a human body !” This sounds much like a mere flourish of ‘rhetoric ; but it is not so. If well meditated, it will turn out to be ‘a scientific fact ; the expression, in such words as can be had, of the ‘actual truth of the thing. *We* are the miracle of miracles,—the ‘great inscrutable mystery of God. We cannot understand it, we ‘know not how to speak of it ; but we may feel and know, if we ‘like, that it is verily so.’ . . .

‘And now if worship even of a star had some meaning in it, ‘how much more might that of a Hero ! Worship of a Hero is ‘transcendent admiration of a Great Man. I say great men are still ‘admirable ; I say there is, at bottom, nothing else admirable ! No ‘nobler feeling than this of admiration for one higher than him- ‘self dwells in the breast of man. It is to this hour, and at all ‘hours, the vivifying influence in man’s life. Religion I find stand ‘upon it ; not Paganism only, but far higher and truer religions,—all ‘religion hitherto known. Hero-worship, heartfelt prostrate admi- ‘ration, submission, burning, boundless, for a noblest godlike Form ‘of Man,—is not that the germ of Christianity itself ? The greatest

Hence it was necessary that the humanity of the Divine Word, the only perfect revelation to man of God in Righteousness, should not be a mere ideal (as asserted by many of the Gnostics), or a phantom (as asserted by the Docetists), but a concrete reality, that the passion of the Saviour, from Bethlehem to Calvary, should be enacted in a body freely manifested to the eyes of men. Hence also the permission of the Church to represent Christ and

‘of all Heroes is One—whom we do not name here ! Let sacred silence meditate that sacred matter ; you will find it the ultimate perfection of a principle extant throughout man’s whole history on earth.’—Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History*.

‘Those who object to anthropomorphic ideas of God and Nature, as too limited a standard of almighty powers and attributes, do not reflect that man cannot possibly conceive any ideas but such as originate in his own mind ; nor can God reveal to man, either in Scripture or in Nature, through angels or otherwise, any ideas or conceptions but such as may and do assume an anthropomorphic shape in the human mind.’ . . . ‘God, we repeat, can only reveal Himself to man within the limits of human thought ; and these cannot transcend the heights and depths of perfect human nature ; above which is the Infinite, in every sphere of speculation.’ . . . ‘Infinite, formless extension is certainly not anthropomorphic ; but then it is “without form, and void,” until God or man creates a form within it.’ . . . ‘Man, therefore, can only understand science, religion, and philosophy, through the faculties of his own mind. He has no other means of understanding anything in physical or spiritual being, in visible or invisible worlds, in finite or infinite degrees of power, beauty, truth, and

the saints, in whom Christ has lived ¹ on earth and continues to live in Paradise, as corporeally present to the faithful.

Anthropomorphism is, in fact, as inseparable from Dualism as substance is from form ; and, although the knowledge of perfect sanctity is not strictly within the scope of Anthropomorphism apart from Dualism, the former is at least competent to attain to an admiration of heroism or imperfect sanctity, and it is from hero-worship

‘love. His own powers of mental vision or perception are the measure of his definitions and denominations in all language. The ‘insignificant smallness of man’s body compared with the sublime ‘vastness of the physical universe, and the finite powers of his mind ‘compared with those of Omnipotence, mislead the judgment of intuitive thinkers by means of contrast in degrees, which are allowed to ‘obscure the identity of principles in physical and mental nature ; and ‘yet it is clear that infinite mind in God must be as much in harmony with finite mind in man, as infinite matter in the universe is ‘in harmony with his body.’ . . . ‘Anthropomorphism, therefore, ‘is angelomorphism and theomorphism as far as the finite can represent the infinite, as far as the physical sun and planets of our ‘system can represent the Infinite Source of physical heat and light, ‘as far as the incarnate spiritual light of Christianity, “the light of ‘the world,” can represent the Infinite Source of Divine Love and ‘Wisdom. But what kind of Anthropomorphism do we mean— ‘Pagan, Jewish, or Christian ? There is a vast difference between ‘these three, although merely difference of degree ; as there is a vast ‘difference between imperfect man and perfect man, and their conceptions of Divinity.’—H. Doherty, *Philosophy of Religion*.

¹ *Gal.* ii. 20.

that saint-worship is developed. From the idea of a Hercules who wrestled with serpents (originally a solar myth) was developed the idea of the Hercules who wrestled with vice of a later tradition ; for men have to learn the value and beauty of manliness and heroism before they are fit to appreciate sanctity. Consequently, when, at the close of the dark age which terminated with the eleventh century, the mediæval Church awoke to the duty of bringing home her teaching, not merely to a relatively few studious and contemplative minds, but to the multitudes engaged in active occupations, she began by making crusaders of them, before she sought to enlist them in confraternities such as the great preaching orders founded in the thirteenth century, or the numerous and immense guilds (third-orders, &c.) affiliated to these holy institutions ; so it is not astonishing that the marauding troopers, who took the cross in the later crusades, were a very different set of men from the companions of Godefroy de Bouillon, for the noblest activities of a more deeply religious age were absorbed by another warfare ; whereas at the time of the earlier crusades the very saints of Paradise reappear on earth as belted knights, fighting, like St. James of Compostella, at the head of red-crossed armies. But, a hero being an imperfect saint, there is always a

certain amount of moral danger in hero-worship,¹ from which saint-worship is, *if genuine*, free, though even a cultus addressed to Christ's humanity may be taxed with idolatry, if unaccompanied by an idea of its perfection: that is, when it is not the Christ of Scripture who is worshipped, but the Christ of an impure imagination.

Anthropomorphism is strongly expressed in the saying of a Greek, 'Men are mortal gods, and the gods immortal men,' in the Aryan cultus addressed to heroes, in epic poetry, and in the heroic tone of the purely Aryan mythologies, as contrasted with those of the Turanians and Hamites.

Homer's epics are perhaps the most *intense*, but not the most complete, expression of Anthropomorphism; for its worst features are there displayed in much higher relief than its best, and the irreverent tone of the epic muse in Ionia must be attributed chiefly to the well-known corruption by luxury of the Asiatic Greeks.

¹ Alexander the Great, for instance, had taken Achilles for his patron hero, and, although he certainly was animated by the courage and occasional generosity of that worthy, the famous copy of Homer, which the petulant monarch always had by him in a golden casket, never failed to supply him with an excuse, if not an encouragement, for indulging in his favourite vices. In Napoleon-worship, one of the latest and most remarkable revivals of a purely Anthropomorphic religion, its defects and evils are no less conspicuous.

‘With the exception of Apollo,’ writes E. Curtius, ‘all the gods are treated with a kind of irony; Olympus becomes the type of the world with all its infirmities. The more serious tendencies of human consciousness are less prominent; whatever might disturb the comfortable enjoyment of the listeners is kept at a distance; the Homeric gods spoil no man’s full enjoyment of the desires of his senses. Already Plato recognised Ionic life, with all its charms and all its evils and infirmities, in the epos of Homer; and we should wrong the Greeks who lived before Homer if we judged of their moral and religious condition by the frivolity of the Ionic singer.’¹

It is, however, to be remarked that neither Homer nor earlier singers of the Olympians invented the puerile and immoral anecdotes in which they are made to play such unworthy parts; and it is the glory of the Anthropomorphic gods, of at least many of them, that their dignity was on the whole so little compromised by the taint of what the Science of Religion proves to have been a fatal inheritance from the gods of Fetishism and Pantheism; that, in spite of their birth-sin, that, in spite even of their ill-treatment at the hands of the epic poets, they were able to take the lead in the great work of private and public moralisation which was always steadily carried on

¹ *History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

by at least a minority in every purely Aryan and Shemitic population; nor were they deemed unworthy to be sung by the pious muse of Pindar, to be portrayed by a Phidias and a Polygnotus,¹ or to be devoutly worshipped by a Socrates and a Plato.²

¹ The works of Phidias, in which Greek statuary attained its apogee, were celebrated for their devotional sublimity, and his statue of Zeus at Olympia is said to have produced quite a religious revival. His contemporary Polygnotus seems from all accounts to have been, as a painter, the Greek Cimabue and the Greek Orcagna in one.

² The advice of Plato to all who were assailed by sinful thoughts was to go at once and cast themselves down before the altars of the gods, the averters of evil: “*ἴθι ἐπὶ θεῶν ἀποτροπαίων ἱερὰ ἱκέτης.*” (*Laws.*) The earnest and sweet piety of Socrates towards the gods of his country is amply illustrated in the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, and in many of Plato’s *Dialogues*, as, for instance, in the following passage from the first book of the *Memorabilia*, thus translated in Lewes’s *Biographical History of Philosophy*:—

“‘I would they (the gods) should send and inform me,” said Aristodemus, “what things I ought or ought not to do, in like manner as thou sayest they frequently do to thee.” “And what then, Aristodemus? Supposest thou that when the gods give out some oracle to all the Athenians they mean it not for thee? If by their prodigies they declare aloud to all Greece—to all mankind—the things which shall befall them, are they dumb to thee alone? And art thou the only person whom they have placed beyond their care? Believest thou they would have wrought into the mind of man a persuasion of their being able to make him happy or miserable, if so be they had no such power? Or would not even man himself, long ere this, have seen through the gross delusion? How is it, Aristodemus, thou rememberest or remarkest not, that the kingdoms and commonwealths most re-

The Science of Religion has contributed much to dispose of a calumnious taunt, often repeated against Anthropomorphism since the days when Xenophanes of Colophon wrote :—

‘If oxen or lions were gifted with hands,
If they knew how to paint with their hands, and to do the
works of men,
Then would horses take horses, and oxen take oxen,
To portray their ideas of the gods, and would give to them
bodies
Like unto their own.’

For it may be answered, that if horses and oxen had no familiar knowledge of any being superior to them-

‘nowned as well for their wisdom as antiquity, are those whose piety
‘and devotion hath been the most observable? and that even man
‘himself is never so well disposed to serve the Deity as in that
‘part of life when reason bears the greatest sway, and his judg-
‘ment is supposed in its full strength and maturity? Consider,
‘my Aristodemus, that the soul which resides in thy body can
‘govern it at pleasure ; why then may not the soul of the universe,
‘which pervades and animates every part of it, govern it in like
‘manner? If thine eye hath the power to take in many objects,
‘and these placed at no small distance from it, marvel not if the
‘eye of the Deity can at one glance comprehend the whole. And,
‘as thou perceivest it not beyond thy ability to extend thy care, at
‘the same time, to the concerns of Athens, Egypt, Sicily, why
‘thinkest thou, my Aristodemus, that the Providence of God
‘may not easily extend itself through the whole universe?

‘As therefore, among men, we make best trial of the affec-
‘tion and gratitude of our neighbour by showing him kind-
‘ness, and discover his wisdom by consulting him in distress, do

selves, they could not do better than represent their gods as these had been revealed to them ; but if these good beasts *had* familiar knowledge of a being superior to themselves, such as man, and were able to appreciate his superiority, there is no reason whatever to suppose that they would act otherwise than men, who refrained from portraying the gods in their own form so long as they believed the sun, the stars, the thunder, &c., to be superior in power and intelligence to humanity.

Already, even by Fetishists, had monarchs and ancestors been worshipped as divine ; but this cultus must be distinguished from the hero-worship into which it was transformed by Anthropomorphism. The Fetishist worshipped the king of the nation or of the family, both before and after his death, as he worshipped the thunder, mainly on account of his power, real or supposed, but without any reference to his moral qualities; though

‘thou in like manner behave towards the gods; and if thou
‘wouldest experience what their wisdom and what their love,
‘render thyself deserving the communication of some of those
‘divine secrets which may not be penetrated by man, and are
‘imparted to those alone who consult, who adore, who obey the
‘Deity. Then shalt thou, my Aristodemus, understand there is a
‘Being whose eye pierceth throughout all nature, and whose ear is
‘open to every sound; extended to all places, extending through
‘all time; and whose bounty and care can know no other bound
‘than those fixed by his own creation.’”

from hero-worship sprang a new and potent motive of respect for men and women of noble birth, that is, for the real or supposed descendants of heroes.

To Anthropomorphism was due a much clearer notion than had been entertained before of the moral equality of the sexes and the origin of *chivalrous* devotion to the physically weaker but more gentle sex. It is probable that even the various unmixed branches of the Aryan race¹ did not accept Monogamy as a religious obligation until their Anthropomorphism had become strongly accentuated. The feelings and ideas, however, which gave birth to Monogamy and Chivalry received a further development under the empire of Dualism.

Of the fine arts, the most developed by Anthropomorphism was Statuary, the fittest to express the physical beauty, the intellectual superiority, and the virtue in extraordinary circumstances of heroic humanity, without needing to concern itself with the homely details of ordinary life, which have so much importance in the career of saints; for the gods and heroes of Anthropomorphism are seen to most advantage when represented

¹ In respect to the Shemitic race, Fergusson writes: 'If not absolutely monogamic, there is among the Jews, and among the Arabic races where they are pure, a strong tendency in this direction; and but for the example of those nations among whom they were placed, they might have gone further in this direction.'—*History of Architecture.*

as abstract ideals, each embodying only one species of excellence, and Statuary can do wonders in portraying a Leonidas dying for his country, or an Apollo slaying Python, though incompetent to treat such a subject as the 'servant with a broom,' of George Herbert, making 'drudgery divine.'

To Anthropomorphism, moreover, was due man's first idea of a Demiurge, *i.e.* neither a Creator nor a Generator,¹ but an Arranger of matter already existing. The gods of a pronounced Anthropomorphism are no longer the forces that *generate* natural phenomena, and still less are they the actual phenomena; but there is still a fatality in matter which they have, like men, a limited but free power to resist and utilise. Phœbus, for instance, has ceased to be the sun, or to generate its splendour, but its orb is a chariot which he drives and directs, and the expanse of the firmament is but the arena of his exploits.

¹ Zeus is indeed styled by Homer 'πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,' but this invocation, so far from implying any Pantheistic notion of cosmic generation, merely shows that the Olympian community was conceived by the poet and his contemporaries as a sort of model clan, of which Zeus was the chief or πατήρ, the other Olympians, and among immortals the Olympians only, as his near kinsmen, and men of illustrious family (ἄνδρες, not ἄνθρωποι) as also affiliated to the celestial clan as retainers of its chief.

It is not, however, to be supposed that the gods of Pantheism were quite eclipsed under the empire of Anthropomorphism. Some of them even, especially those that had come to embody the idea of an inflexibly fatal force in Nature (such as the Moiræ of Greece, the Fata of Rome, the Nornas of Germany and Scandinavia, all originally chthonian divinities ¹), were held to be much more powerful than the anthropomorphised gods, who had stolen so many attributes from the former, as well as their place in the hearts of men. A cultus was still addressed to the forces of Nature, but in general no longer because they were loved, but because they were feared. Anthropomorphism, in fact, appears like a brilliant embroidery, of which the dark background was Pantheism, but the background was dark because the brilliant hues it once possessed had been absorbed by the embroidery; and it is consequently not to be wondered at, that in historical times the ancient Greeks, for a people endowed with such exquisitely fine senses, and

¹ The Greeks practically recognised two sets of Moiræ, the daughter or daughters of Night, and the daughters of Zeus and Themis; but the latter, of relatively late origin, were, like the Parcæ of Rome, mere genethliac goddesses, and rarely confounded with the terrible Moira of Homer and the Tragedians, to whose decrees even Zeus has to submit humbly. Vide *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique*, by A. Maury.

with such a glorious capacity for æsthetic enjoyment, were singularly indifferent to the beauties of extra-human nature, to which the literature and art of Hindustan and China, as well as of modern Europe, owe so much of their inspiration.¹ It is also to be observed, that, although Anthropomorphism at last personified everything, the forces of Nature, which both in mythology and in reality had generated the new race of immortals—Ouranos and Ge, for instance—were generally and clearly understood to be mere personifications, and, though still held to be divine, not actual persons with human sentiments, such as Zeus or Hera.

The new generation of gods was, for the most part, though not exclusively, of celestial origin, whereas the gods who continued to personify the forces of Nature, instead of intervening as independent persons to modify their action, were for the most part, though not exclusively, chthonian, such as the earth-born giants and most of the Titans—the earlier brood of gods, catalogued in the *Theogonia* of Hesiod—who struggled with the bright Olympians, and such as the Jötuns of Teutonic mythology, who struggled with the gods of Walhalla.

Indeed, many divinities of chthonian origin, who had

¹ Vide *Le Sentiment de la Nature avant le Christianisme*, by V. de Laprade.

been much anthropomorphised, quite lost their original characteristics, and ended by being either transformed or absorbed into celestial divinities. Hera, for instance, originally a personification of the earth, had, as the spouse of Zeus, at last been transformed into a queen of heaven; and even the Titan Demeter (mother-earth) ended by finding, as the directress of agriculture, a place in some pantheons among the Olympians. The fact was, that in countries where plastic art was carried to a high pitch of perfection,¹ as at Athens the cradle of the 'twelve-god system,' the original connection of divinities with natural phenomena or forces was almost obliterated by their later connection in men's minds with distinct and strictly defined types of human beauty or character, stereotyped for each one of them by poets and sculptors; thus Artemis had come to be particularly thought of as the ideal of a Dorian virgin, Hermes of an Athenian ephebus properly trained in the gymnasium, Demeter of a matron, Hera of a queen, &c.² Under such circumstances, two divinities, who were commonly portrayed

¹ 'The great antagonism in the history of Greek religion between the worship of the chthonian and the Olympian gods is reconciled in the plastic arts, so as that the peculiar feelings of the former have found therein no correct expression.'—Otfried Müller, *Ancient Art and its Remains*, translated by J. Leitch.

² Vide *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique*, by A. Maury

with the same cast of features, or even with the same headdress, would be more likely to get assimilated and confounded than if their connection was that of a common origin or even a common jurisdiction.

Anthropomorphism is particularly noticeable in the religions of the Aryan and Shemitic races, and in the philosophy, based on ethical psychology, of Socrates.

It is remarkable that at a time when the theology of Delphi and other Greek sanctuaries had almost attained to Dualistic Monotheism, and when Anthropomorphism reigned almost exclusively in the domain of the fine arts, the earliest school of Greek philosophy, that founded by Thales in Ionia, confined its attention to extra-human nature, seeking for the principle of *all* things only in matter. Thales supposed that this principle (*ἀρχή*) of all things was water or moisture; Anaximander, his disciple, supposed that it was undetermined matter (*τὸ ἄπειρον*); a little later Anaxagoras even perceived the duality in extra-human nature of intelligent force and matter; but the philosophy of the Ionic school being exclusively based on physics, it could not transcend the bounds of a materialistic Pantheism, and it produced the frankly atheistic doctrine of Democritus, who asserted that everything was the result of a fortuitous concourse of atoms, and the scepticism of the Sophists, who, per-

ceiving rightly that the external senses could not always be depended on as instruments for discovering truth, went on to declare that absolute truth existed nowhere, so that its search was vain. That a Greek school of philosophy should have based its speculations entirely on physics is probably due to the introduction at this time of natural sciences into the Greek world from the East, perhaps also to a reaction against the frivolities which so often degraded anthropomorphic conceptions of Deity, but chiefly to the fact that philosophy, in contradistinction to theology, bases its speculations entirely on the observation of phenomena, and when men first began to observe scientifically, the same thing happened as when they had begun to observe superficially, namely, that their attention was first riveted by the phenomena of matter. The healthy anthropomorphic tendency of Hellenism, however, at length asserted itself in philosophy, when the sculptor¹ Socrates took for the text of a new system the old oracular maxim inscribed on the temple of Delphi—‘Γνῶθι σεαυτόν’—declaring that the basis of a transcendental philosophy should be ethical psychology and not physics, that in man would be found

¹ The group of the three Graces executed by Socrates is said to have found a place on the walls of the Acropolis close behind the Athene of Phidias.

the clearest revelation of God. Socrates seems to have been chiefly engaged in laying the foundations of the new philosophy, but the superstructure was the magnificent and immortal system of Plato, whom all generations will call 'the divine.'

The transition from Anthropomorphic to Dualistic Polytheism resulted from development of the moral sense, especially when the inauguration of a more regulated and centralised state of society obliged the thinking and governing classes of nations to give a serious attention to legislation, and consequently to the solution of ethical problems. Moses, Zoroaster, Numa, the Pythia of Delphi, Hu-Cadarn, Manco-Capac, in short, all the earliest moralists in their respective countries were also legislators.

Dualism is not merely the perception of a difference between right and wrong, for, since man has been man, his moral sense must have been more or less in activity, but it is the perception of a *radical* difference, of a difference at least sufficiently accentuated to be the basis of the classification which men consciously or unconsciously make of things external to themselves.

Anthropomorphism had taught men that it was a noble thing to struggle manfully against the fatalities of Nature and circumstances; but Dualism now began to

make them perceive that there was something still more noble, namely to resign themselves to circumstances, and to make of necessity virtue; not, indeed, to crouch before necessity as the Fetishist or the Pantheist, who had not yet learned to use his free-will and energy, but to accept necessity with the self-restraint that commands energy. Anthropomorphism had taught men to act; Dualism taught them to suffer.¹ Anthropomorphism had looked on the inhuman powers of Nature as foes; Dualism perceived they were sometimes friends in disguise, who furnished the means of expiating sin. This resignation of the Dualist, which is so conspicuous in Stoicism, lacks, however, one important characteristic of Christian resignation, namely that it is not *necessarily* connected with that faith in Divine Love, which is the essence of Christian hope; for, apart from Mysticism, it was not before men had attained to Theism that they knew of an *almighty* Father in Heaven, who 'makes all things work together for good,'² because His very essence is Love, and the God of Theism was but

¹ Contrast the indomitably energetic heroes of the Homeric or Nibelungen epics with the suffering heroes of the great Athenian 'Passion-plays.' Who that has read the tragedy of Æschylus will ever forget the sublime silence and passivity of Prometheus when he is being chained to the rock?

² *Rom.* viii. 28.

very imperfectly revealed before the manifestation of Christ's mediatorial work on earth. The last vice, consequently, which præ-Christian Dualism could afford to attack or even to recognise as a vice was pride.

To Dualism men owed a much profounder notion than they had hitherto entertained of sacrifice in general, and of human sacrifices in particular. Already from the earliest times even Fetishists had offered up costly gifts in order to win temporal blessings from the gods or to avert their wrath, but not for the express purpose of obtaining salvation, not merely from the consequences of sin, but from sin itself, and still less with the conviction that the trespass-offering would avail only as the evidence of 'a broken and contrite heart.'¹ Fetishists also had sacrificed to their gods helpless children and captives, not unfrequently with the most revolting cruelty; but it was Dualism that gave men the notion of the beauty and value of a *willing* human victim,² and 'the profound idea of substitution.'³ With Dualism, consequently, lustrations and other forms of expiation and purification make their first appearance, or at least

¹ *Psalm* li. 17.

² Vide *Psalm* xl. 6-8 (9-10 in P. B. version).

³ Mommsen, referring to the *devotio* in his *History of Rome*, translated by W. Dickson.

acquire a new importance ; and acts of self-immolation, such as the *devotio* of the Romans, begin to shed a glory on history. The prescription of external ablutions and the like as a means of effacing moral guilt had, of course, its drawbacks, and was abused by many to 'drug their consciences ;' but the expiatory and purificatory rites of Dualism were instituted at a time when it was before all things necessary to impress the imagination of multitudes with the idea of the foulness of sin, and for that purpose to accustom them to divide, however arbitrarily, all things into clean and unclean. It was only when the task of the 'schoolmaster'¹ had been accomplished that men were ready for the truth, that they were not defiled 'by whatsoever entereth in at the mouth,' but only 'by such things which come forth from the heart.'²

To Dualism, also, nations owed their first *pastoral* clergies, men and women *set apart* for their sacred office by a special call and training, and by a more or less ascetic discipline, such as the Prophets of Israel, the Pythagoreans of Magna Græcia, the Athravas of Persia, the Bikshus of Buddhism, the Druids of the Kymric Celts. These were usually united into colleges or centralised hierarchies, and were intended by their founders

¹ *Gal.* iii. 24-5.

² *Matt.* xv. 17-20.

rather to supplement than to supersede *hereditary* priests of an older date, whose functions were in no wise incompatible and usually connected with civil and military command, and were more ritualistic than pastoral or even prophetic. These later priesthoods differed moreover from the earlier in the manner in which they derived or claimed to derive their authority; for the first men who exercised a sacerdotal office were priests by an hereditary divine right because they were kings by hereditary divine right, and they were kings by hereditary divine right because they had inherited from their ancestors the paternal authority of a chief of a family; whereas at a later period priests and prophets based their authority, no longer on a naturally, but on a supernaturally communicated divine right.¹ The new clergies were usually connected with

¹ There was a time when every chief of a free family was, like Abraham, an independent king and priest; and a family became the nucleus of a clan, when it was voluntarily joined by individuals in need of sustenance, protection, or religious privileges, or by its own emancipated slaves, the new comers being naturally admitted to a place at the family altar and table only as dependants (such as the *θῆτες* in Greece, the *clientes* in Italy, the 'stranger within thy gate' in Palestine). In the course of time, several clans discerning or believing that they worshipped the same divinity would voluntarily join together to form a tribe, possessing a sanctuary common to its scattered clans, and afterwards several tribes in similar religious conditions would join together to form a nation, possessing a stronghold and a permanent market-place (*ἀγορά*, *forum*), as well as a

more or less missionary religions, *i.e.* with religions which sought to increase the number of their adherents from

sanctuary, common to its scattered tribes. When such a confederation took place, the chief of the clan owning the sanctuary round which the tribe had been formed became naturally and justly the high-priest and king of that tribe (as representative of the divinity who had formed it and as the necessary medium of its formation), and in a similar manner the chief of a tribe (*φυλοβασιλεύς*) would become the high-priest of a nation (such as Melchizedek or Cecrops); while in general the chiefs of the other confederate clans and tribes still preserved a local jurisdiction and the priesthood of their own sanctuaries; and at a later period, when the nation had come to be more centralised, if the highpriest-king of the nation had not in effecting that centralisation succeeded in making himself quite despotic, the other chiefs (such as the original *patres* of Rome, or the *elders* of Israel) would gradually exchange their local jurisdiction for legislative and judicial authority as members of a Senate. In the meanwhile, with the development of civilisation, division of labour became frequently necessary, and many chiefs began to confide more or less of their sacerdotal functions to others, either members of their family (such as the son of Micah the Ephraimite, before he was replaced by a Levite—*Judges* xvii. 3—*Conf. Numb.* iii. 12—), or not unfrequently to bards (such as Orpheus) or divines (such as Calchas); but, in any case, the religious authority of these substitutes was only a delegated one, which could be at any time withdrawn, and the chiefs still remained *de jure* if not *de facto* the supreme religious authorities of the sanctuaries in their possession. It must, however, be added that this evolution was not unfrequently broken into by violence, and that even in the earliest times sacerdotal and political authority was often seized by a *τύραννος*, *i.e.* by a ruler who owed his authority to might instead of to right; but Carlyle, if, as seems undeniable, Max Müller's derivation is correct, must have adopted a wrong etymology for the word *king*, connecting it with *können*

disinterested motives; for hitherto the admission of a stranger to the *sacra* of a family had either involved his

(might, ability) instead of with the root *gan*, from which *generator* is also derived; and we find that usurping dynasties (such as the Heraclidæ in Peloponnesus or the Pandavas in India) nearly always forged some legend or altered some tradition in order to legitimise their usurpation by connecting themselves with the families they had ousted.

The pastoral clergies which appeared at a later period also based their authority on a divine right, but conferred by a special call from the invisible world either to individuals or to self-continuing orders; for, unlike the earlier patriarchal priests, these new ministers of religion were usually united in colleges or centralised hierarchies, in which vacancies were filled by cooptation.

There was however in many countries a period of transition, in which a priesthood was constituted, basing its authority both on a natural and on a supernatural divine right, *i.e.* on the hereditary principle and on that of a special call. Its founders were usually the chiefs of clans and tribes who with their kinsmen had quite given themselves up to study and sacerdotal duties at a time when other chiefs were giving all their time and attention to political or military engagements. Such were the Aaronic priests of Israel, the Brahmins of India, the Magians of Media, the Chaldæans of Babylonia, and the ruling families of Delphi.

As the constitution of the earlier priesthoods was intimately connected with a quite decentralised state of society, and the later clerical orders were, on the contrary, generally favourable to ecclesiastical centralisation, it was usually the wisest policy for the chiefs of whole nations to ally themselves with the latter against the former.

Among populations more inclined to Pantheism and less to Dualism than the Aryans or Shemites, and even among some of the Aryans and Shemites when first coming into contact with the

acceptance of a condition bordering on that of servitude, or had been granted with less onerous stipulations only as a great and exceptional favour.

Dualism infused a new life into the cultus of chthonian powers, which had hitherto been rather neglected by Anthropomorphism; these now became either the avengers of conscious guilt, such as the Greek Erinnyes (closely connected with Demeter), or suffering mediators, such as the Dionysus of the Orphici, or the Soma of the *Vedas*. But, besides transforming gloomy gods of the lower world into suffering mediators, demanding 'hilastic' rites, and effecting the 'death unto sin,'¹ Dualism

civilisation of other races, a similar evolution took place, but here the patriarchs of early times were supplemented or superseded by clergies, composed of doctors rather than of pastors, and who combined the study of metaphysics with that of natural, mathematical and occult sciences. The Druids of the Kymric Celts and many of the Egyptian priests were indeed at the same time pastors and men of science, but the Brahmins of India, the Magians of Media, and especially the Chaldæans of Babylonia were much more occupied in studying science and metaphysics on their own account than in imparting religious instruction to the laity, and the Telchins and Dactyls of Asia Minor were especially known to the Greeks as adepts in magic.

On the religious and political evolution of the Aryan nations, vide *La Cité antique* by Fustel de Coulanges.

¹ Connected with this idea was the brazen serpent of Moses which healed the serpent's sting, the serpent being in all parts of the world a symbol of the earth, the material world, with its destruc-

developed the bright and in general more anthropomorphised gods of celestial origin, such as the Delphic

tive and healing properties, the seat of evil and death, and the medium of expiation and life.

‘Hence,’ writes J. Ruskin, ‘the continual change in the interpretation put upon it in various religions. As the worm of corruption it is the mightiest of all adversaries of the Gods—the special adversary of their light and creative power—Python against Apollo. As the power of the earth against the air the Giants are serpent-bodied in the Gigantomachia; but as the power of the earth upon the seed—consuming it into new life (“that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die”)—serpents sustain the chariot of the spirit of agriculture. Yet on the other hand there is a power in the earth to take away corruption, and to purify (hence the very fact of burial, and many uses of earth, only lately known); and in this sense the serpent is a healing spirit—the representative of Æsculapius, and of Hygieia; and is a sacred earth-type in the temple of the Dew—being there especially a symbol of the native earth of Athens; so that its departure from the temple was a sign to the Athenians that they were to leave their homes. And then, lastly, as there is a strength and healing in the earth, no less than the strength of air, so there is conceived to be a wisdom of earth no less than a wisdom of the Spirit; and when its deadly power is killed its guiding power becomes true; so that the Python serpent is killed at Delphi, when yet the oracle is from the breath of the earth.’—*The Queen of the Air*.

‘The Delphic oracle,’ writes E. Curtius, ‘was always anxious to encourage the veneration of relics of the dead, to order the restoration of sacred remains to the womb of their native earth; and Delphi was also the home of the myth of the dæmon of the infernal regions, Eurynomus, who ate the flesh of the buried, but left their bones untouched.’ . . . ‘For if with death everything passes away, the body of the dead is also a thing of no value or moment;

Apollo, the Agni of the *Vedas*, the Persian Mithra, into victorious saviours (ἀλεξίκακοι, σωτῆρες), demanding 'catharmic' rites, and effecting the 'new birth unto righteousness.'¹

These imperfect Messiah-conceptions contributed much to prepare men's minds for the greatest event in history; but even when the suffering and the victorious Messiah were identified, or united in one person,² and

'hence it is given up to the flames before its beauty is destroyed by death. If, on the other hand, death is the point at which the soul first enters upon a newer and higher existence, this existence also hallows the external encasement of the soul.' . . . 'The growth of plants becomes a consolatory symbol of immortality, and the remains of the dead are left like a sacred treasure in the vicinity of the survivors.'—*History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

¹ On the difference between *Hilasmoi* and *Katharmoi* (viz. ceremonies of Atonement or Expiation, and ceremonies of Lustration or Purification), vide *Dissertations on the Eumenides of Æschylus*, by Otfried Müller. 'It is true,' he writes, 'hilastic ceremonies also occur in connection with the Gods who bear rule in the bright upper world, the Gods of Olympus, as Jupiter or Apollo; but, upon closer inspection, it seems to me beyond doubt that it was to deities and dæmonic beings of the infernal world that the propitiatory cultus properly and immediately appertained.'

² In the Orphic myth of Dionysus, that god is torn to pieces by the Titans, who here represent the unbridled passions of humanity; but it is the victorious Apollo who, restoring him to life, is the saviour of the suffering Dionysus and consequently of the latter's worshippers. In the cultus organised by Ribhu, however, for which the hymns in the *Sama-Veda* collection were written, the suffering Soma, a personification of a fermented and very combus-

even when that personality was free from any impure element or association, which it was always exposed by

tible liquor, is identified with Agni, a personification of fire, and both with Indra, a personification of the sunlight. This identification of Soma with Agni and Indra—in physical truth, of latent heat and light in a combustible substance, sprung from the earth through the operation of the air (Vayu), and adapted for nutrition by the process of crushing, &c., with the manifest heat and light of fire and of the sun; in corresponding metaphysical truth, of the suffering victim, born of an earthly mother through the operation of the Spirit, with the victorious heavenly saviour, the ‘Sun of Righteousness’—was pregnant with one of the most essential doctrines of Christianity, that of the Real Presence; for, the sacrifice of bread and fermented liquor being always connected with a distribution of the consecrated elements to the worshippers present, the agapæ became a communion, and the communicants were united not only to the victim, but also to the saviour with whom he was identified; so that the life and sufferings of the faithful communicants being henceforth united to and consecrated by the life and sufferings of the sacred victim, they were made strong in the strength of the saviour and capable of participating in his victory over death—in the resurrection of the ‘Sun of Righteousness’ from the lower world. That the worshippers of Agni were able to grasp one tithe of the metaphysical truths expressed by their liturgy is more than doubtful, and it is not improbable that even the original framers of that liturgy were almost unconscious instruments in the hands of Divine Providence, as was Virgil when he announced in his 8th Eclogue the birth of a Saviour to the Roman world (Conf. the prophecy of Caiaphas, *John* xi. 49–52). The cultus of Agni, as it was celebrated in the region of the Seven Rivers (Septa Sindhu), has been recently made known to us by the translation and publication of the *Vedas*, but there is little reason to doubt that a similar teaching of the Real Presence was connected with many other Aryan cultus,

its anthropomorphic form to receive, the great defect of all these conceptions was not that they were too anthro-

and among populations with which the Jews after the Leading into Captivity came into contact, either as dispersed traders and colonists or as subjects of the Medo-Persian Empire. It is consequently not surprising to find that in the synagogues of the Essenian and Therapeutic brethren, where a liturgy quite different from that of the Temple had been adopted and developed (for one reason, because the Temple service was forbidden elsewhere), there was a sacrifice with communion of bread (if not also of wine) which implied a belief in a real presence of the coming Messiah; for it is not likely that such earnest ascetics as the Essènes or the Therapeutæ would have adopted for their most solemn act of worship a mere 'supper' or idle ceremony. Is it not reasonable then to conclude that since the doctrine of the Real Presence was (as several other Aryan doctrines equally distasteful to the conservative Sadducees) already familiar to the Jewish world, and as the liturgy of the Christian Church was destined to be developed not from the Temple—but from the Synagogue—service, it is, to say the least, not probable that the Saviour, when He proclaimed Himself to be the long and eagerly expected Messiah by the very unequivocal words, 'This is *My* body,' . . . 'This is *My* blood,' would have used expressions which could not but have been understood by His disciples in any other sense than that which was accepted by all Christendom until the Berengarian controversy, if He had not intended to ratify and consecrate formally the already familiar doctrine of the Real Presence in the eucharistic sacrifice and communion? We have to thank the reformers of our liturgy for placing *after* the communion of the faithful the prayer of oblation, which expresses by words what the elevation in the Roman liturgy expresses by a very beautiful and eloquent gesture; as the intimate connection of the sacrifice with the communion,—of redemption with sanctification,—is

pomorphic, but that they were not anthropomorphic enough : that they represented a moral ideal which not only never had been realised, but never could be realised in humanity. For men felt and understood that a mere human being, however virtuous or powerful, could not be the redeemer of all mankind, so they had to seek for their Messiah among divinities, who had been personifications of natural phenomena or forces, and whose legend could never consequently be completely humanised. During the celebration at certain seasons of very impressive religious rites, the devout might indeed work themselves up to a temporary state of excitement, and actually weep for Dionysus torn to pieces by the Titans, or for Soma crushed in the wine-press, or with Demeter (the *mater dolorosa* of Greek antiquity), bereaved of her child the seed-corn ; but they could derive little from the contemplation of such, purely imaginary sufferings that could exert a lasting influence on their every-day lives.

thereby more significantly manifested, and the congregation is thus reminded that the consummation of Christ's sacrifice is the communion of saints, or their union with Him in His willingness to suffer as well as in His victory, and that Christ, in offering His own acts and sufferings, offered therewith the acts and sufferings of all in whom He continues to live on earth through the medium of the blessed sacrament.

It is also important to note that the Messiah-idea is not actually *contained* in the revelation of Dualism, and that apart from a deep Mysticism and the authority of prophecy, it could only be a very plausible and welcome hypothesis *suggested* by the revelation of Dualism ; and that so long as Dualism was not combined with Theism, the idea of substitution—the idea that love is stronger than death—had no need to imply the sufferings of a divinity worshipped as supreme.

It was however of immense consequence to the spiritual welfare of mankind that Dualism raised the divinities who were already the authors of harmony in the physical world to a similar function in the moral world. The Apollo of Delphi may be taken as one of the most complete types of these gods of *εὐροπία*. After having been successively the sun's luminous body, the soul of that body, the independent ruler of the sun's movements, the ruler of the seasons, the author of harmony and health throughout the material world, and hence the god of medicine and citharœdic music, he now makes the strains of his golden lyre vibrate in the souls of men, compelling them to regulate their lives in unison with its harmony.¹

¹ The law of *Analogy* or *Correspondence* between things spiritual and things material has been so lost sight of, and, since the so-called *Renaissance*, all the fine arts have been so desecrated, so

The Pythian Apollo now became the very soul of the Greek world ; to him was due everything that contributed to the superiority of the Hellenic race ; and wherever the voice of his apostles—the early Gnostic poets, the Orphici, the Pythagoreans, the Sibyls, &c.—was heard, there was the beginning of a new order of things both in public and in private life.

‘ The first signs,’ writes the great German historian of

dragged in the mire, that we modern Europeans have some difficulty in believing that the ancient Greeks entrusted the moral education of their children to the music and dancing-master (κιθαριστής). The young Hellene was taught to connect the idea of a wrong step in conduct with that of a wrong step in dancing, and the idea of discord in his soul with that of discord in the notes of his voice or lyre, so that he was brought up from an early age to regard sin as an ugly thing, disgraceful to anyone who received the education of a free-born citizen. Hence the earnest wish expressed by Plato to restore music to the high office which it had begun to lose at Athens, when Phrynis of Mitylene and Timotheus of Miletus had emancipated the art from the salutary trammels imposed on it by legislators and sages ; for ‘ Music,’ writes E. Curtius, ‘ above all the sister-arts ‘ served to educate the young, and to furnish a sure standard for the ‘ moral bearing of the community, and thus became the object of the ‘ most careful cultivation and superintendence on the part of the state, ‘ in whose interest it specially lay, that music should be preserved in ‘ harmony with the existing constitution. The salutary power of a ‘ well-ordered art of music and the dangers of a degenerate one which ‘ should mistake its task, have nowhere found a more thorough appreciation than in Greece.’—*History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

the Ionians,¹ 'of this development are the realisation of a
'higher order of life, the foundation of towns, the increas-

¹ Dr. Ernst Curtius, *History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward. In the same work there is the following magnificent description of the Purification and Consecration to Apollo of Athens, by Epimenides at the prayer of Solon, after the pollution of the city by sacrilege :—'In how lofty a spirit Solon conceived his task his
'next steps prove. For he contemplated not a few external successes,
'but the moral elevation of the whole national body. A political
'community, not less than a private family, is desecrated by dis-
'union : the gods avert their countenances, and will receive nothing
'from impure hands. Therefore Solon had no thought of calming or
'lightly dissipating the uneasy feeling which had remained behind
'ever since the outbreak of the internal feuds, the fear of the citizens,
'which was fostered by sickness and terrible signs from heaven, and
'the sense of divine disfavour ; but he rather confirmed the citizens in
'their perturbed state of mind, and declared a general humiliation
'before the gods and an expiation of the whole city necessary. In
'order to give a thoroughly impressive significance to this solemn
'rite, he advised the invitation of Epimenides from Crete, a man
'enjoying a high priestly authority among all the Hellenes, and fre-
'quently summoned by domestic and national communities to restore,
'by exhortation, instruction, and expiatory rites, the disturbed rela-
'tion with the invisible powers. Since men like Plato believed in the
'healing influence of such measures, we should assuredly not be jus-
'tified in thinking meanly of the agency of an Epimenides.

'He was a prophet, not in the sense that he encouraged super-
'stition by a soothsayer's tricks, but in this, that he inquired into the
'origin of moral and political evils, and pointed out remedies for
'them. He was deeply cognisant of the relations of human life—a
'physician after the type of Apollo, whose worship he extended ; a
'spiritual adviser—a man whose gifts of speech and whose whole
'personality exercised a deeply-moving power ; and these gifts he

‘ing refinement of manners ; its perfection is the common
‘religion of Apollo, which was nowhere introduced without
‘taking hold of and transforming the whole life of the
‘people. It liberated men from dark and grovelling wor-
‘ships of nature ; it converted the worship of a God into
‘the duty of moral elevation ; it founded expiations for
‘those oppressed with guilt, and for those astray sacred

‘was ready, at the desire of Solon, with whom he stood in relations of
‘friendship, to devote to the Athenians, as he had before devoted
‘them to others.

‘By the combination of various forms of religious worship
‘Athens had become the capital, and Attica one united whole. But
‘this religious union was as yet incomplete. Apollo still remained a
‘god of the nobility, and his religion a wall of separation between the
‘different classes of the population of Attica. According to the plan
‘of Solon, this was to be changed. Epimenides, after by sacrificial
‘processions round the city their ancient guilt had been expiated,
‘consecrated the entire city and the entire state to the god of the
‘Ionic families. To every free Athenian belonged henceforth the
‘right and the duty of sacrificing to Apollo. All the houses and
‘homesteads, all the altars and hearths, received consecration by
‘means of the sacred laurel-branch. In all the streets statues were
‘erected of Apollo Agyieus, and the oath holiest to all the Athenians
‘was now sworn by Zeus, Athene, and Apollo, such being an express
‘ordinance ever since the time of Solon. The systems of religious
‘worship were regulated anew ; prayers and hymns, serving to edify
‘the mind, promulgated ; and beneficent forms of divine service esta-
‘blished. Before all the altars of the city new fires glowed ; the old
‘times were at an end, the heavy clouds dissipated, and once more
‘the Athenians, with wreaths around their brows, serenely passed up
‘to the temples of their gods.’

‘oracles. The rich blessings granted by this religion
‘brought with them the obligation and awakened the desire
‘of unwearyingly spreading it, and carrying it across the
‘sea into the lands still lingering in the obscurity of
‘earlier forms of divine worship.’ . . . ‘Though
‘Apollo is by no means a stranger to the Homeric world,
‘yet it was in the post-Homeric world, and especially from
‘Delphi, that he first established his influence on the
‘Greek view of life. This influence presented many points
‘of contrast with Ionic poetry. To a harmless life from
‘day to day, in nature and the world, are opposed the
‘demands of close self-examination ; ¹ to the free and

¹ ‘The highest, nay, the only, principles which might in a certain sense be regarded as a Hellenic moral law, proceeded from the
‘Apolline worship. For the latter alone emphatically declared every
‘external exercise of religion worthless, so long as the heart and mind
‘of men were not religiously disposed. Apollo did not sell his wisdom to every impertinent questioner. The pure god demanded a
‘pure heart. For a symbol of internal purification was designed the
‘act of sprinkling the person with the water of Castalia, collected in
‘a large vessel before the entrance of the court of the temple for the
‘use of the pilgrims. But “deceive not yourselves” (thus the Pythia
‘addressed the pilgrims) : “for the good, indeed, one drop of the
‘sacred spring suffices, but from the bad no sea of water shall wash
‘away the pollution of sin.” Nor shall he who, notwithstanding,
‘risks the discovery of his evil mind, tempt the holy god in vain.
‘For none but the innocent is blessed by the god, whose sayings the
‘wicked man cannot understand, for guile is upon his soul, and his
‘misunderstanding of the oracle hurries him but the more rapidly to

'open development of all the gifts belonging to an individual, a strict discipline in the case both of every individual and of the entire body of men united as a state ; instead of an unsuspecting communion between gods and men, a gulf is fixed between them, and man is taught to feel the want of expiation ; in the place of easy self-content, a demand arises for an unwearying search and labour of the mind. These were the ideas which had been developed at Delphi.' . . . 'How vast is the discrepancy between these ideas and the Homeric views of life ! In the latter the vigour of vitality, the enjoyment of the present, and the happy consciousness of health and strength, are everything ; and beyond this life is nothing but an awful world of shades and ghosts, a place of weakness and humiliation : so that his ruin ; as in the case of the Lydian king, who arrogantly desired to transgress the limits of his empire, and therefore interpreted the mysterious answer of the god according to the desires of his own perversity. In general, no questions may be asked except those harmonising with the god's own sentiments : *e.g.*, the mere question whether a suppliant should be taken out of a temple to be given up to his enemies of itself constitutes an impiety upon which the punishment must follow. The Spartiate Glaucus, who had sought divine justification for an intended act of perjury, was doomed to perish with his whole house, although he had soon repented of his inquiry, returned the money the receipt of which he wished to deny, and craved the pardon of Apollo.'—E. Curtius, *History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

‘ the life of a day-labourer on earth, in the light of the sun,
‘ is yet incomparably preferable to a Hero-king’s powerless
‘ after-life in Hades. Although the opposite view never
‘ became an article of popular faith, which might be pre-
‘ supposed in every Hellene, like the veneration of the
‘ Olympian gods, yet it was adopted with full earnestness
‘ by those among the people who felt deeper religious
‘ cravings, and was cherished with devout fidelity in more
‘ limited circles, which formed themselves inside the multi-
‘ tude as isolated communities. And although these secret
‘ doctrines or mysteries principally attached themselves to
‘ the religion of Demeter, yet they were acknowledged and
‘ recommended by Apollo in his own sanctuary. In
‘ Delphi, above all other places, the worship of Heroes,
‘ which is based on a belief in the continued personal life
‘ of the deceased and in the heightening of their power in
‘ death, was held in honour. Finally, among the wise men
‘ and the poets who connected themselves with Delphi, the
‘ graver view of life, which most strenuously opposes the
‘ Homeric conceptions, is also most decisively put forward.
‘ Thus in the first instance with Hesiod, in whose poems
‘ life on earth appears utterly stripped of the joyous bril-
‘ liancy which Homer spreads out over it ; for with Hesiod
‘ life is a sunken and fallen state, a school of adversity,
‘ through which man has to pass in the exercise of virtue,

‘ under the observation and support of beatified spirits.
‘ Solon declares death to be better than life, the value of
‘ which he measures by its end. Pindar teaches with
‘ prophetic inspiration the divine origin of the soul and its
‘ destiny, according to which it shall at some future time,
‘ freed from sins, return into blessed communion with God.
‘ These are the same doctrines which Pythagoras, who was
‘ believed to be a son of Apollo, spread abroad in wide
‘ circles. Here again we meet with the belief in the world
‘ of spirits, in the gradual refinement of the fallen soul of
‘ man ; here again we recognise the aversion from every
‘ frivolous attempt to make the gods perceptible to the
‘ senses, and the same tendency of the mind towards a
‘ world beyond the limits of the present, towards a world
‘ where the true sun first dawns upon man.’

Dualism also transformed hero-worship into saint-worship ; and the material dragons, hydras, &c., which the heroes had overcome, recovered a symbolical value which they, for the most part, had possessed when they had antagonists who were personifications of natural phenomena or forces ; but with this important difference, that formerly the darkness or disorder which they symbolised had been material, and now it was spiritual. The dragon, for instance, slain by St. George, had once been the dark storm-cloud (the serpent Ahi of the *Vedas*),

which was slain by the sun-light, and had afterwards been a real live dragon slain by Apollo or Hercules.

Of the fine arts, Dualism especially developed Painting, which is much more adapted than Statuary to the representation of saints, their victories over external evil and over their own passions, and generally of moral beauty as expressed by actions and in the countenance. These subjects, for the most part, require an anecdotic and realistic¹ treatment, which is rarely of good effect in Statuary, and hardly within its province; whereas the painter by the magic of his colour can redeem any homely detail from æsthetic vulgarity, and can reveal the halo of glory which is seen in the spiritual world to illuminate some of the most apparently common-place scenes, actions, and personages. In Literature the Novel is to Painting what the Epos is to Statuary.

There are two degrees of Dualism: a superficial and a profound Dualism.

¹ There are two *realistic* schools of art (called by Ruskin the 'Sensualistic' and the 'Naturalistic'), which must not be confounded. There is the realism of materialism, which ignores spiritual beauty and truth, and there is the realism of spiritualism, which seeks for a realisation of spiritual beauty and truth in real life. The first is opposed to all idealism but the lowest kind, whereas the second is only opposed to idealism, when the latter is in a morbid condition.

In the first variety there is a knowledge of good and evil partially derived from a decided preference for good, and sufficient to make men condemn severely the faults of their neighbours, especially such as are irksome to their own comfort.

In the second variety there is a deep conviction of their own sin (such as that expressed by the author of *Psalms* li.), sufficiently deep for them to perceive their inability to supply by themselves any means of atonement for the past or of sanctification for the future.

The unfortunate tendency of the shallower Dualism, apart from its insufficiency, is to foster uncharitableness and consequently self-righteousness, and to favour *arbitrary* divisions of mankind into the children of God and the children of Evil, as of extra-human Nature into clean and unclean.

The unfortunate tendency of the deeper and purer Dualism, unless corrected by knowledge of a suffering but victorious Messiah, is to give rise to despair of salvation ; for the doctrine of the Atonement alone can satisfactorily reconcile the truth of Dualism,—that there is an eternal gulf between an all-holy God and whatever is polluted by Evil,—with the truth of Mysticism,—that even a being that has been thus polluted can be made the recipient of Divine influx (as it is participation in the

humanity of Christ which alone can enable men to become by adoption and through regeneration sons of God). When this deeper Dualism, ignorant of a Messiah, is only partially qualified by Mysticism, despair of salvation is replaced by a less dangerous but still pernicious belief, of which the extreme consequence is to regard indeed the souls of the elect as saved or capable of salvation, but the rest of the world as entirely in the power of Evil, so that, all contact with unregenerate persons and material things being logically accounted a pollution, there is not only no scope allowed to the lower or 'ritualistic' stage of religion to serve as a means of leading the soul up to the higher or 'ascetic' stage of religion, but, what is more grave, the children of God, who are not *of* the world, are forbidden to work out their salvation *in* the world,¹ whether they have received a *special* call to a purely contemplative life on this earth or no.

The shallower Dualism is conspicuous in primitive Judaism, in Mahometanism, and in the later developments of many Aryan religions ; and it is the basis of a metaphysical system² in Mazdæism.³

¹ Vide *John* xvii. 15 ; and xvi. 33.

² The definition that has been given above of *Dualism* forbids the classification as Duolistic of systems, such as that of Anaxagoras, which are based, not on a duality of Good and Evil, but merely on

The deeper Dualism is conspicuous in Prophetic Judaism,⁴ Buddhism,⁵ Orphism,⁶ Pythagoreanism, Plato-

a duality of an active and a passive principle in Nature, as of force and matter. Such systems belong for the most part either to the province of Pantheism or to that of Materialism, even if, in the phraseology of their authors, mere force is designated by the word *God*. There was also the Fetishistic duality of the Heavens and the Earth, or of Fire and Air *v.* Water and Earth. Even the duality of beings friendly and hostile to man in the universe, connected with that of pleasure and pain, is hardly beyond the scope of Materialism.

³ The *Mazdaean* religion of Persia (Farsistan) must not be confounded with the *Magian* religion of Media, though both claimed to be founded by Zoroaster. In the latter country, Iranians only composed the two upper castes (the sacerdotal caste of the Magians and the warrior-noble caste of the Arizanti), and perhaps only in part, the bulk of the population consisting of Turanians. Magianism was a compound of Aryan, Turanian and (owing to the vicinity of Babylon) Cushite elements, as Brahminism was in India. The basis of its metaphysical system was Pantheism, the Iranian supreme good and evil beings, Ormuzd and Ahriman (the latter in Media confounded with the aboriginal Turanian serpent-god Afrasiab, still worshipped by the Yezidis), being both conceived not as self-existent, but as emanated from the inactive Zarvan-Akarana. It is also to be observed that the Zoroastrian religion as it was reconstituted under the Sassanian dynasty, in the 3rd century A.C., was penetrated with many Magian elements, which also passed into the Schyite religion of mediæval and modern Persia.

⁴ As understood especially by the Essenian and Therapeutic brotherhoods.

⁵ Buddhism, owing to its missionary activity, spread rapidly and with immense success among the Turanian populations of Asia, and,

nism, Stoicism, and the later developments of several

owing to its practical incompatibility with the caste system as then established in India, it frequently became an instrument in the hands of ambitious men to unite the lower castes against Brahminical rule. It has in consequence been represented by some historians as both religiously and politically a reaction of the Cushite and Turanian populations of India against their Aryan conquerors. In answer to this conclusion, it may be urged: (1) that the Anthropomorphic and profoundly Dualistic elements of Buddhism point rather to an Aryan reaction against the Hamitic Pantheism of Brahminism; (2) that Sakya Muni, its founder, belonged himself to the caste of Kchatryas or warrior-nobles, who were constantly at odds with the Brahmins, and who had remained much more Aryan in feeling, if not in race, than the latter; (3) that the Brahminical caste is by no means so purely Aryan as it pretends to be, as in the early days of the Aryan settlement in India, not only were marriages frequent between the invaders and the natives, but many Cushite sacerdotal families, worshippers of Shiva and of ichthyophallic gods, were admitted (according to F. Lenormand and von Eckstein) into the Brahminical order, and can be distinguished to this day by their cast of features and dark complexion; (4) that outside of India, Buddhism has been much transformed among purely Turanian populations (such as the worshippers of the Great Lama), not unfrequently degenerating into mere 'Chamanism' (a combination of fetishistic idolatry and sacerdotal magic), and its leading doctrines misunderstood except by a select few.

⁶ The Orphic brotherhood appeared in Greece in the century of Solon and the Pisistratidæ; the best known of its early members being the prophet-priest of Apollo, Epimenides, who purified Athens, the theologian Pherecydes, who was the master of Pythagoras, and the poet Onomacritus, who wrote many of the hymns fathered upon Orpheus. There was always much connection between the Orphic and the Pythagorean brotherhoods; both, under

Egyptian cultus ;¹ as the basis of a metaphysical system it is particularly noticeable in Manichæism ; and it is needless to say that it is one of the most important elements of Christianity.

The heresy peculiar to either phase of Dualism is to attribute self-existence or uncontrolled power, a virtual divinity, either to Evil or to its seat the World.

The transition from Polytheistic to Monotheistic Dualism resulted from the inductive faculty coming again into play to make a synthesis of the materials analysed by Polytheism and Dualism.

patronage of the Delphic Apollo, being engaged in the same work, that of spiritualising and developing the popular religions of the Greek world. The Orphici met with most success in the transformation which they fostered of the cultus of Dionysus, combined with that of Apollo at Delphi, and of the cultus of Demeter, united with that of Dionysus in Attica. At Delphi they opposed their ascetic cultus of Dionysus Zagreus, 'the hunter of souls,' to the orgiastic cultus of the popular Dionysus ; and at Eleusis they renovated by their influence the famous 'Mysteries,' into which so many of the deepest thinkers of the Greek world were initiated.

¹ Especially that of Osiris, one of the most Anthropomorphic conceptions of the Egyptian pantheon. Osiris was originally a personification of the sun, and the object of his worshippers was to be so united to him by virtue, or at least by obedience, as to be buried with him in the underworld, and thus to participate in his resurrection. Osiris was the tutelary divinity of Abydos, and his religion radiated from thence all over Egypt. He is always represented from head to foot as a man.

The Shemitic populations were perhaps predisposed to Monotheism by their life in the desert, where the sky, in which they localised the seat of Deity and recognised His most striking emblem, appears in all its majestic unity and glory, instead, as in moister regions, of being frequently troubled by atmospheric phenomena, or outvied in beauty by luxuriant vegetation. For the same reason the Monotheism of the Mazdæan religion may have been favoured by the pastoral life of the Iranians in the steppes of central Asia.

The work of syncretism which resolved Dualistic Polytheism into Dualistic Monotheism was of course gradual; in general the tutelary divinity of a nation absorbed by degrees the divinities of other nations, with whom he had some point of contact, and every new attribute thus acquired increased the number of his points of contact with others, until his attributes became so numerous that he could be regarded as resuming all others. The analytic tendency of Hellenic thought, and the exuberant anthropomorphism of Hellenic art, which created such varied and strictly defined types of human beauty and character for its gods, was however a great hindrance to this syncretism in Greece; ¹ but among the

¹ The Orphici and Pythagoreans, however, who had some acquaintance with the Monotheistic theologies of Asia and Egypt,

Shemitic and Iranian populations that had no plastic art, the evolution could take place with much less difficulty. There was a time when each free Shemitic family worshipped its own Eloah or Allah, and, when families united to form tribes and nations, they came to worship several Elohim, until an Abraham was born, unto whom it was revealed that all the Elohim, of whom nothing ungodlike was related, were One.¹

Under the empire of Monotheism, the idea of a Demiurge god began to be replaced by that of a Creator from nothing ; but so long as religious speculation could not supply a truer solution to the problem of the origin of Evil, the creative power of Good could not well be extended to the *whole* World. Ahura-Mazda (Ormuzd) and Ahriman, the supreme good and evil beings of Maz-

perhaps even with that of the dispersed Israelites, did their best to forward the work of syncretism in the Greek world, teaching the initiated either that the names of their numerous gods were but invocations of one supreme God, or that these were but dependent angels (*δαίμονες*) of one supreme God. Such also were the teachings of Delphic theology in its later developments ; Apollo himself being regarded only as the chief of the prophets of Zeus, or else as the voice or the *λόγος* of Zeus.

¹ Hence the plural form of the singular noun *Elohim*, as shown by Max Müller in *Chips from a German Workshop*. In *Gen.* xiv. we find Abraham recognising his God in the El Elyôn worshipped by Melchizedek.

dæan theology, are both assumed to be creators. As soon as the idea of creation by the supreme good being was extended to the *whole* World, as in *Gen. i.*, Monotheism had resolved itself into Theism ; the Elohim revealed to Abraham ¹ had become the Jehovah revealed to Moses.²

The transition from Monotheistic Dualism to Theism resulted from a careful observation of the sequence and concatenation of natural phenomena and laws, as viewed from the standpoint of the former.

The Theistic doctrine of Creation from nothing does not necessarily imply a beginning in time of the created Universe ³ (for the Deity's free creative activity may be conceived as existing eternally *in esse* as well as *in posse*), but it completely destroys the idea of Fatality and replaces it *everywhere* by that of Providence.

Theism, when unqualified by the truths contained in Fetishism, Pantheism, or Anthropomorphism, has this disadvantage, that Deity is practically removed so very

¹ *Gen. xvii. 1.*

² *Ex. vi. 3.*

³ Vide *Essais sur la Philosophie et la Religion au XIX^{me} Siècle*, by E. Saisset, who quotes the following remarkable passage from the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine :—‘Quâpropter, si Deus ‘semper dominus fuit, semper habuit creaturam suo dominatui servientem ; verumtamen non de ipso genitam, sed ab ipso de nihilo ‘factam ; nec ei coeternam : erat quippe ante illam, quamvis nullo ‘tempore sine illâ ; non eam spatio transeunte, sed manente perpetuitate præcedens.’—*Lib. xii., cap. 15.*

far from man, when the æsthetic faculty and human affection have no scope to contribute to the awakening of religious feeling; for the Mystic alone who has entirely divested himself of self-will is sufficiently open to Divine influx to worship *only* 'in spirit and in truth,' and, as Carlyle has observed, between the εἶδωλον painted on the imagination and the εἶδωλον painted on canvas there is but a superficial difference. If the Jews and the Arabs have been so enthusiastically attached to their Theistic religions, this was partly due to patriotism or party feeling, but chiefly to their Theism being more or less qualified by Anthropomorphism; indeed to this day the Arabs, for the most part, conceive Allah as a great Calif reigning from his palace in the material sky; the strong imagination of the Shemitic race requiring no assistance from the plastic arts prohibited by its prophets. Restrictions on plastic art were, however, absolutely necessary in the case of the chosen people, on account of the connection with the abominable cultus of their Hamitic neighbours of the artistic forms best known in Palestine.

There are two varieties of Theism, a shallow and Materialistic Theism and a profound and Mystical Theism, the first proceeding from the shallow and the second from the profound variety of Dualism.¹

¹ The difference between the significations commonly attributed

The former just perceives that the Creator is kindly disposed towards His creatures and is able to carry out His intentions for their welfare, and it may conclude that all pain unjustly suffered will in some way be compensated for either in this world or in another, and that 'all is for the best;' but *its* best is mere worldly enjoyment, its paradise, a place where the pleasures of this world will be increased in number and improved in quality, and where there will be no call either to labour or to suffer. Such conceptions and hopes, whether false or true, belong for the most part to the province of Materialism, and those who entertain them have been happily classed by Coleridge as the 'other-worldly.'

This Materialistic Theism is conspicuous in primitive Judaism and in Mahometanism.

The latter perceives that Love, even omnipotent Love, does not exist where there is no desire of self-sacrifice,¹ and only can find its full expression in the 'Religion of the Cross,' and a satisfactory definition in its creed.

It has already been shown that Theism is not the only possible resolution of Monotheistic Dualism, as Good and Evil may be assumed to be both emanated from an unde-

to the words *Deist* and *Theist* answers pretty accurately to the difference between Materialistic and Mystical Theism.

¹ Vide *John* i. 18; iii. 16; 1 *John* iii. 16; iv. 9-10.

terminated self-existent Being, instead of in opposition as a self-existent Creator and a rebellious self-vitiated Creation; but there will remain the difficulty of accounting for a double hierarchy, that of goodness and purity and that of intellect and power. Pantheists are consequently obliged either to deny the most obvious facts in asserting that the two hierarchies coincide, or to make an altogether fantastic classification in order to dovetail them. In Hindustan, for instance, the most wicked Brahmin, qualified by the intellectual superiority of his race to study sacred, occult, and natural sciences, is esteemed a much more divine being than the most virtuous Sudra, and the intellect and power of a Lucifer would be a much stronger recommendation to the object of a popular cultus than the infantile holiness of a St. Agnes ;¹ though on the other hand a cow, on account of its gentleness and utility, is accounted higher in the scale of being than a man or woman of the lower castes, which are known to be degraded by hereditary vices. The Pantheists of the present day in Europe, still less observant of facts than the Hindus, simply cut the knot of the difficulty by flatly denying the compatibility of vice with intellectual power or of elevation of character with ignorance ; consequently,

¹ Hence the popularity in India of such devil-worships as that of Shiva.

they join Materialists in demanding that all education supplied by the state be restricted to development of the mental powers and in proclaiming such education to be the only remedy for moral evil.

But to a philosophical mind a truly spiritualistic Theism encounters a still more insuperable difficulty, namely that of reconciling the stern but very obvious fact of Evil in the World with the idea of an all-good, all-wise, and all-powerful Creator ; and, as the doctrine of Christ's sacrifice and victory is the only satisfactory solution of the difficulty, it is not surprising that so profound and earnest a thinker as Plato was not a Theist, and that he wavered between Pantheism and Dualism, in seeking a basis for a philosophy invaluable to Theistic metaphysics.

2. To recapitulate :—

The MATERIALIST perceives rightly the existence, qualities, and effects of Matter ; but is wrong to conclude that nothing exists beyond Matter, or no happiness beyond that which Matter can afford.

The FETISHIST perceives rightly that connected with the phenomena of Matter there is something immeasurably greater than himself,—the Divine ; but is wrong to conclude that the substance of the Divine is not to be sought further than in Matter.

The PANTHEIST perceives rightly that Matter is connected with intelligent Force, and that the Divine resides more in the latter than in the former ; but is wrong to conclude that the connection between Spirit and Matter, or that between God and the World, is fatal or indissoluble, or that *all* life in the World is divine.

The POLYTHEIST perceives rightly that the manifestations of the Divine in Nature are various ; but is wrong to conclude that Deity has not unity of substance or unity of purpose.

The ANTHROPOMORPHIST perceives rightly that the Divine is more manifested in Man than in any other natural being familiarly known ; but is wrong to conclude that the attributes of Deity differ only in degree from his own.

The DUALIST perceives rightly that there is something in Man and in the rest of the World totally opposed to divine Love, Wisdom, and Life ; but is wrong to conclude that Evil or its cause is self-existent, or that Good is not more powerful than Evil, and the World or any part of it entirely in the power of Evil.

The MONOTHEIST perceives rightly that all Good is derived from one centre,—God ; but is wrong to conclude that God exists only in one hypostasis, or that His manifestations are not various.

The THEIST perceives rightly that all things but God have been created from nothing by God, and remain subject to His control ; but is wrong to conclude that Evil has not acquired a positive existence, or that there is no more intimate link than that of dependence between God and the World.

The MYSTIC perceives rightly that there is a Life directly proceeding from eternal Love and Wisdom within himself, without being of himself ; but is wrong to conclude that he is emancipated from the pressure of the World (the seat of Evil), or that his own nature is not more or less vitiated and consequently exposing him to delusions of evil spirits or of his own imagination.

The CHRISTIAN is taught by divinatory revelation, and may be enabled by grace to perceive, that only through the Incarnation and Atonement of the Divine Word can the self-vitiated World be so united to the three Divine Persons of the Trinity that ' God may be all in all,'¹ and that, Divine permission of Evil through the free-will of creatures being necessary and solely intended for the complete satisfaction of Divine love, only the sufferings of incarnate Deity could satisfy and sufficiently manifest Divine love of the World, the seat of Evil, and Divine abhorrence of Evil itself.

¹ 1 *Cor.* xv. 28.

Owing, therefore, its three great fundamental doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement to divinatory revelation, Christian Theology can deduce therefrom the elements of a metaphysical system, which will reject the heresies¹ and harmonise the

¹ 'Quand la métaphysique chrétienne s'organisa dans les écrits des Pères et par les décrets des conciles, elle rencontra ces deux grands adversaires, le Dualisme et le Panthéisme, et les combattit tous deux avec une égale vigueur. Contre le Dualisme, elle établit la parfaite unité du premier principe. Contre le Panthéisme, elle maintint la distinction radicale de Dieu et du monde. A ses yeux, le Dualisme n'est qu'un Manichéisme déguisé; et le Panthéisme, une tentative sacrilège de diviniser la nature. Oui, sans doute, Dieu est distinct du monde; mais le monde est son ouvrage, et l'être du monde dépend du sien. Et, d'un autre côté, ce lien de dépendance, si fort qu'elle puisse être, laisse au monde une réalité propre, fondée sur la volonté de Dieu, et profondément distincte de sa substance. Le Verbe seul est consubstantiel à Dieu; Dieu ne le fait pas, ne le crée pas, il l'engendre (*genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri*). Dire que le monde est une émanation de la substance divine, c'est une parole aussi sacrilège que de soutenir que le Verbe est une créature du Père. Dans le premier cas, on élève le monde à la dignité de Dieu; dans le second, on abaisse Dieu au niveau de la misère humaine. Dieu a donc fait le monde, et il l'a fait de rien; en d'autres termes, il l'a fait sans le tirer de soi-même et sans avoir besoin d'aucun principe étranger. Voilà la création.

'Si l'on demande maintenant comment Dieu a fait le monde, le système de la création ne répond pas. Ce système n'est point une explication du rapport du fini à l'infini, une troisième conception métaphysique substituée à la conception dualiste et à la conception panthéiste. En d'autres termes, c'est une troisième conception,

truths¹ of all other systems, and, in the language of Philosophy, it can teach accordingly:—

‘ si l’on veut, mais qui est tout entière dans l’exclusion commune des ‘ deux autres.’—E. Saisset, *Introduction aux Œuvres de Spinoza*, quoted in *Essais sur la Philosophie et la Religion au XIX^{me} Siècle*, by the same author.

¹ ‘ Qu’exprime en effet, pour un chrétien philosophe, le dogme ‘ de la sainte Trinité, sinon que Dieu considéré en soi, dans la plénitude solitaire de son existence absolue, n’est point un être indéterminé, une activité purement virtuelle, une abstraite et inerte unité, ‘ mais un principe vivant, une intelligence qui se possède et qui s’aime, ‘ féconde sans sortir de soi, n’ayant rapport nécessaire qu’à soi, n’ayant ‘ besoin que de soi, se suffisant pleinement à soi-même dans son ‘ éternelle et ineffable béatitude ? De là la parfaite indépendance de ‘ Dieu et la parfaite liberté de l’acte créateur. En donnant l’être au ‘ monde, Dieu n’augmente ni ne diminue son incommunicable et ‘ indéfectible perfection. Ce n’est point en effet de sa substance ‘ qu’il tire l’univers, ni d’une substance étrangère. Il dit, et les ‘ mondes sortent du néant. Voilà le miracle, voilà le mystère de la ‘ création. Dieu ne tire de soi que ce qui est égal à soi. Le Père ‘ engendre le Fils, le Saint-Esprit procède de l’un et de l’autre, et, ‘ dans cette région sublime, la coéternité et la consubstantialité sont ‘ nécessaires. Partout ailleurs elles sont impossibles et sacrilèges. ‘ Tout ce qui n’est pas Dieu diffère infiniment de Dieu et est séparé ‘ de lui par un abîme infranchissable.

‘ Ce Dieu si prodigieusement éloigné de l’homme, un mystère ‘ d’amour l’en va rapprocher: Dieu s’incarne dans l’homme. Ne ‘ croyez pas pourtant que Dieu et l’homme deviennent consubstantiels. ‘ La personne divine et la personne humaine s’unissent, il est vrai, et ‘ même s’identifient dans le divin Rédempteur ; mais la distinction des ‘ natures subsiste. Et comme en Dieu la triplicité des personnes ‘ n’ôte pas l’unité de substance, dans l’homme-Dieu l’unité de la personne ne saurait effacer la diversité des natures, tant le christianisme

That omnipotent, omniscient, eternal, infinite, and self-existing Love is the first Hypostasis of the holy Trinity in Unity,¹ the Creator of the World, and the Generator only of the Word.² That the second Hypostasis, the Word, eternally generated by the Father, is the eternal Archetype (not Creator) of the World,³ in which Evil exists, neither by creation nor by emanation from a self-existent being, but only through the free-will of creatures (free-will created and necessary for the full satisfaction of Divine love). That the third Hypostasis, the Spirit, eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son, is the substance, not of all life, but of all divine life⁴ in the World.

That the World was *originally* 'good,'⁵ and conse-

'a voulu maintenir dans la variété nécessaire de la vie divine l'unité du principe divin, et dans l'union intime de l'homme et de Dieu l'ineffaçable séparation de la créature et du créateur.' . . .
'Certes, quiconque sait entendre cette haute métaphysique, et s'est résolu, dans son esprit et dans son âme, à ne laisser jamais échapper la chaîne solide que forme la suite de ces dogmes, ne tombera jamais dans le panthéisme.'—E. Saisset, *Essais sur la Philosophie et la Religion au XIX^{me} Siècle*.

¹ I John iv. 7-16.

² Heb. i. 5.

³ John i. 3, 9; Heb. i. 2-3.

⁴ 'The Giver of life (*vivificantem*).—*Nicene Creed*.

⁵ Gen. i. 4, 31.

quently susceptible of becoming so united to God, that 'God may be all in all' ¹ (*i.e.* in all creatures made children of God by *adoption*²), but susceptible also of becoming evil through misappropriation of natural life by free-will ; that, on the other hand, the World has only partially become vitiated by misappropriation of life, so that it still admits of regeneration and of ultimate union with God, 'according to the working whereby Christ is able to subdue all things unto Himself.' ³

That divine life cannot be directly misappropriated, but is proportionally lost by the misappropriation of natural life ; so that there is no salvation for a vitiated creature *out of* spiritual death ⁴ (death to God) except

¹ "Ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.— 1 Cor. xv. 28.

² The Word being 'the only-begotten Son of God' the Father, it is precisely because angels and men are *creatures* that they can only become *children* of the Father by adoption, and in union with the Word inworlded.

³ *Phil.* iii. 21. Vide also *John* i. 29 ; iii. 17 ; vi. 39 ; *Acts* iii. 21 ; *Rom.* viii. 18-23 ; 1 *Cor.* xv. 24-8 ; *Eph.* i. 10 ; *Phil.* ii. 10-1 ; *Col.* i. 20 ; *Heb.* xiii. 8 ; 1 *John* ii. 2 ; *Rev.* v. 13 ; xxi. 4-5 ; and the commentary of these texts in *The Restitution of all Things*, by A. Jukes.

⁴ 'Our translators have sometimes rendered ἐκ θανάτου by the English words "*from death*," as in *Heb.* v. 7 ; but the force of the original is always "*out of death*." . . . 'Death is the only way out of any world in which we are. It was by death to God we fell out of God's world. And it is by death with Christ to sin and to this world that we are delivered in spirit from sin, that is the dark world, and in body from the toil and changes of this outward world.'

through natural death ¹ (death to natural life that has been misappropriated) with the Saviour.²

‘For we are, as Scripture and our own hearts tell us, not only in body in this outward world, but in our spirits are living in a spiritual world, which surely is not heaven, for no soul of man till regeneration is at rest or satisfied; and being thus fallen, the only way out of these worlds is death: so long as we live their life, we must be in them. To get out of them, therefore, we must die: die to this elemental nature, to get out of the seen world, and die to sin, to get out of the dark world, called in Scripture “the power of darkness.”’
—A. Jukes, *The Restitution of all Things*.

¹ Vide *Matt.* x. 38-9; xvi. 24-5; xviii. 8-9; *Mark* viii. 34-5; x. 21; *Luke* ix. 23-4; xiv. 27; *Rom.* viii. 13; *2 Cor.* iv. 11; *Gal.* vi. 14; *Phil.* iii. 10; *Col.* iii. 5; *2 Tim.* ii. 11-2.

‘Others may think they will be saved in another way than that Christ trod. His living members know it is impossible. To them, as the Apostle says, “to live is Christ;” and they cannot live His life without being “partakers of His sufferings.” Therefore “we which live are alway delivered unto death for Jesus’ sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh.” Because this is so little seen,—because so many take or mistake Christ’s cross as a reprieve to nature, rather than a pledge that nature and sin must be judged and die, seeming to think that Christ died that they should not die, and that their calling is to be delivered from death, instead of by it and out of it;—because in a word the meaning of Christ’s cross is not understood, but rather perverted, and therefore death is shrunk from, instead of being welcomed as the appointed means by which alone we can be delivered from him that has the power of death, who more or less rules us till we are dead, for “sin reigns unto death,” and only “he that is dead is freed from sin;”—because this, which is indeed the gospel, is not received, or if received in word is not really understood, even Christians misunderstand what is said of that destruction and judgment, which is the only way for delivering fallen creatures from their

That although it is through death and in the World¹ that the creature is cleansed from the evil of the World, it is only by 'eternal life'² and in God that regeneration is effected; whence the necessity of a baptism of the Holy Ghost besides that of water,³ of 'a new birth unto righteousness'⁴ besides 'a death unto sin.'

'bondage, and bringing them back in God's life to His kingdom.'
—A. Jukes, *The Restitution of all Things*.

² In other words, that salvation out of sin (which is a spiritual death) is only to be obtained through mortification (which is a natural death), and salvation out of the fleshly envelope, which has been irreparably vitiated by sin (a spiritual death), is only to be obtained through dissolution of the corporeal (including the cerebral) organism (a natural death); the virtue of these deaths for salvation lying in their being suffered in the power of Christ. Vide *John* xii. 24-5; *Rom.* vi.; *I Cor.* xv.; the Baptismal and Burial services, and the collect for Easter Even in *Book of Common Prayer*.

This salvation out of death through death is appointed to be commenced in the sacrament of Baptism (the appointed medium whereby the individual soul is enabled to join itself by faith to the spirit of the whole community which has embraced the religion of the Cross), and it is expressed by the merely symbolical rite of Burial; the elements fire (heat and light) and air (life) being, as emblems, correspondences with God, and the elements earth and water, correspondences with the World, the latter more especially of the Church, or the World regenerated and in its turn instrumental to regeneration. In plastic symbolism, the dove represents air, and the serpent, earth. On the symbolism of the elements, vide *The Queen of the Air*, by J. Ruskin.

¹ *John* xvi. 33; xvii. 15.

² For the definition of 'eternal life,' vide *John* xvii. 3.

³ *Matt.* iii. 11; *John* iii. 3-12.

That (man being a natural emblem of God and woman of the World) the Church (*i.e.* the purified and regenerated elements of the World) is the daughter (by adoption) of the Father, the Spouse of the Spirit, and, more especially in the person of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of the inworlded and incarnate Word;¹ and that it was the *immaculate* purity of the blessed Virgin which rendered possible the incarnation of the Word through the operation of the Holy Spirit.

That the divine humanity of Christ was an external revelation of all the three Persons of the Holy Trinity : His mediatorial sacrifice of the Father (Who 'so loved

¹ 'The new birth is a new man.' . . . 'And this new man is "he that is born of God and cannot sin," because he has no sin in his nature. This is "he that overcometh the world," because he is of a divine nature, and is both contrary to the world and above it. This is he who can alone "love his brother as himself," because the love of God abideth in him. The old natural man is of this world, and enlightened only with the light of this world; he is shut up in his own envy, pride, and wrath, and can only escape from these by the cross of Christ, that is by dying with Him. This is the "self" that our Saviour calls on us to deny—this is the "self" that we are to "hate" and "lose," that the kingdom of God may come in us, that is, that God's will may be done in us.'—W. Law, *Grounds of Christian Regeneration*, quoted in *The Restoration of all Things*, by A. Jukes.

¹ Hence the title Θεοτόκος assigned to Mary by the œcumenical Council of Chalcedon.

the World (τὸν κόσμον) that He gave His only-begotten Son¹); the perfection of His humanity, of the Word; and His whole life on earth, of the Spirit; Christ's humanity being the 'Way'² to the Father, the 'Truth' of the Word, and the 'Life' of the Spirit.³

¹ *John* iii. 16. Conf. *John* i. 18; 1 *John* iii. 16; iv. 9-10.

² *John* xiv. 6.

³ Hence the humanity of Christ, as the medium of the Spirit, becomes the spouse of the Church. Vide *Rev.* xix. 17.

III.

1. Religious societies have not unfrequently been most advanced and ready for a higher revelation, when they were most corrupt ; for, as all progress entails abuse and ‘noblest things find vilest using,’ the history of so many of the religions, which preceded the Church of Christ, is that of a minority gradually becoming more enlightened and spiritually minded and of a majority gradually becoming more relaxed ; both leaving their mark on the modifications and developments which the religion, externally common to both, received in its rites, doctrines, and moral tone.

In fact, not only in respect to churches, but to the whole human race, the theory of the Fall and the theory of Progressive Evolution are equally true, the two truths coexisting, not *in spite*, but *because* of each other ; for every new acquirement or development of a faculty in a creature is a new occasion of abuse and consequent disease, and so in a religious community is every new means of acquiring grace or enlightenment.

The results of this parallel development and corruption in a religious body are particularly noticeable in the sect of the Pharisees at the time of our Lord's ministry.¹

¹ 'There can be absolutely no question on this point, that there were among the genuine Pharisees the most patriotic, the most noble-minded, the most advanced leaders of the Party of Progress. The development of the Law itself was nothing in their hands but a means to keep the Spirit as opposed to the Word—the outward frame—in full life and flame, and to vindicate for each time its own right to interpret the temporal ordinances according to its own necessities and requirements. But that there were many black sheep in their flock—many who traded on the high reputation of the whole body—is matter of reiterated denunciation in the whole contemporary literature. The Talmud inveighs even more bitterly and caustically than the New Testament against what it calls the "Plague of Pharisaism," "the dyed ones," "who do evil deeds like Zimri, and require a goodly reward like Phinehas," "they who preach beautifully, but do not act beautifully." Parodying their exaggerated logical arrangements, their scrupulous divisions and subdivisions, the Talmud distinguishes seven classes of Pharisees, one of whom only is worthy of that name.' . . . 'The real and only Pharisee is he "who does the will of his Father which is in Heaven because he loves Him." Among these chiefly "Pharisaic" masters of the Mishnic period, whose names and fragments of whose lives have come down to us, are some of the most illustrious men, men at whose feet the first Christians sat, whose sayings—household words in the mouths of the people—prove them to have been endowed with no common wisdom, piety, kindness, and high and noble courage: a courage and a piety they had often enough occasion to seal with their lives.'—Emanuel Deutsch, Article on *The Talmud* in the *Quarterly Review* for October 1867.

It was from the Pharisee sect that the Essenian brethren sprang,

2. Recent discoveries are at length delivering Ancient History from the fancies of a philosophical school, which has culminated in Auguste Comte ; though, as Fergusson has observed,¹ the fortune of Comte's philosophy has been made by his historical theory.

According to this school, the more barbarous has been the condition of society, the more—at least up to a certain degree of barbarism—were men under the empire of religion, and the greater consequently was the scope for clerical domination ; but, on the other hand, as fast as they have progressed in civilisation, science, and culture, so have they emancipated and deserved to emancipate themselves from allegiance both to invisible powers and to their visible representatives ; so that what Comte calls 'the age of Theology' must be assigned to a very low stage of human development.

In this assertion there is no doubt an element of truth, viz. that where the progress of civilisation and culture has mainly tended to foster luxury, and that of science to

to whom our Lord apparently alludes in *Matt.* xix. 12 ; and St. Paul may be regarded as the type of a numerous class of converts, who were prepared for becoming such good Christians by their having been brought up in 'the most straitest sect' of the Jewish religion.

¹ Introduction of *History of Architecture*.

foster pride, there is more to tempt men to throw off the yoke of religion in an enlightened age, when it exacts much from them, than in the early barbarous ages, when precisely it exacted very little.

If, however, we consult the history of ancient times, as it has been written of late by archæologists, philologists, and other impartial and painstaking-investigators of facts, and not by the mere theorists of a past generation, we find, firstly, that in the childhood of the human race, the attention of men being chiefly taken up with physical—in fact with what Comte would call ‘positive’—truths, in order to provide for the wants and enjoyments of a very sensual life, the only individuals who then exercised or claimed to exercise religious authority, such as it was, were the chiefs of families, including those that had also become the chiefs of tribes or of nations, aggregations of which the family is proved to have been the nucleus ; in fact an hereditary aristocracy,—among nomadic populations, a sheikh-archy, and among sedentary populations a squire-archy,—either of patriarchal or of military origin, but generally the latter pretending to be the former ; secondly, that the institution of a pastoral clergy, specially trained and specially consecrated to the service of religion, has never been the *spontaneous* outgrowth of any age but one of advanced intellectual culture ; thirdly, that

the influence of such a clergy over the most highly educated classes of society has always increased and diminished with the fineness of the latter's intellectual culture.

There is, indeed, nothing to disprove that, since man has been man, he has never lacked a certain degree of religiosity—for even so remote a period as that 'which geologists call 'the age of the reindeer' has left unmistakable traces, as. at Aurillac, of funeral rites, which bear witness, not only to a belief in a future state, but to the celebration of some rude cultus—; nor have Christians unsolid reasons for holding, that preserved in a very small community an unbroken chain of divinatory revelation, perhaps not clearly understood at the time of its delivery, connects the church of Christ with the church of Adam ; but, according to the latest conclusions of archæological and philological science, the farther back one is able to trace the various branches of the human race, the more does the religious element in men's lives appear, not only of coarse quality, but in diminished quantity. It was, in fact, only after man had mastered sufficient science¹ of

¹ People often talk as if there existed no *science* in the world before human knowledge was systematised in its present form, a form which will probably not last much longer, if as long, than many of its predecessors. Have they ever considered how much thought, and systematic thought, was required to invent and to perfect, for instance among very early inventions, the wheel of the

natural or physical things to provide for the numerous wants and tastes of his body that he began to conceive the existence of metaphysical truth, which requires to be elucidated by prophecy ; nor is it before an age of very advanced culture that one finds considerable bodies of men, such as the Brahminical Yogis, the Buddhist Bikshus, the Egyptian priests of Isis, the Greek Pythagoreans, or the Jewish Essenes, intent on having no other interest in this world but that of their religion. The fact alone, that in early times any material object or phenomenon, which made a great impression on the outer senses, was taken for a god, proves how little attention was given to the suprasensual or spiritual world ;¹ and the fact, that when,

chariot and of the potter, or the arts of the weaver, the dyer, the mason, the carpenter, the shipwright, the metallurgist, &c., or the elaborate systems of writing developed in Babylonia and China, or again the ancient mathematical and astronomical lore, which was inherited from the Egyptians and Babylonians by the Greeks ? Is it fair to say, for instance, that there existed no *science* of Botany before the Linnæan system was abandoned for that of de Jussieu, or no anatomical or medical science before the circulation of the blood was discovered ?

¹ ' Si l'on envisage les religions modernes,' writes E. Burnouf, ' qui procèdent de conceptions métaphysiques souvent très-élevées, ' c'est au plus profond de l'intelligence humaine que plusieurs de ces ' faits se sont accomplis et s'accomplissent encore : jamais, par ' exemple, un homme qui n'est pas métaphysicien ne pourra faire la ' science des dogmes chrétiens. Combien y a-t-il de gens parmi nous ' qui se fassent une idée nette de ce que c'est que la trinité, l'incarna-

for instance, the earlier hymns of the *Vedas* were composed, almost every bard formed his own idea of the divinity he celebrated,¹ proves how little dogmatic teaching existed in Comte's 'age of Theology.'

And so long as men were conscious of few religious wants, it followed that when there was little demand there was little supply, so it is not astonishing that the institution of regular clergies was late in the history of humanity, if by the term *clergy* is meant a body of men whose *principal* occupation is either the study or the dispensation of things pertaining to religion, whether or no they occupy themselves *casually* with other matters, and consequently deriving or claiming to derive their authority from a higher source than the inheritance by birth or the acquirement by violence of the privileges and duties, which all races have instinctively recognised as inherent to the position of a father of a family; and that, among populations

'tion, la grâce, l'eucharistie, la transsubstantiation, et qui puisse dire quelque chose de vrai et de raisonnable sur l'histoire de quelqu'un de ces dogmes? Tout cela est de la métaphysique pure. S'il s'agit au contraire des anciennes religions de notre race, comme elles ont réellement le caractère *naturaliste* qu'on a depuis longtemps reconnu en elles, les faits du monde physique occuperont dans la partie de la science qui s'occupe d'elles une place considérable. Ainsi, pour avoir une idée claire touchant Apollon ou Neptune, il suffira d'observer attentivement les phénomènes de la lumière et des eaux.'

¹ Vide Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*.

which have owed but little of their civilisation and culture to others, such clergies only came into existence after almost everything had been provided which could minister to the wants and pleasures of the senses and to the conveniences of life, in fact after an empiric science of physical things had engendered a theoretic physical science, and this in its turn a metaphysical science.

It is probably in great part due to the fact, that at the present day one meets with a sort of parody of a clerical order among half-civilised and even barbarous populations, that it has been so rashly concluded that a clergy was in all countries the outgrowth of a barbarous age; but one can now trace in almost every instance its institution among such populations to foreign influence, and in most instances to the activity of a missionary religion; the Chamans¹ of Northern Asia, for instance, though at present little better than wizards, are the representatives of a sacerdotal succession founded by Buddhist missionaries from Hindustan, and the Marabut of Nigritia deals in talismans composed of verses from the Koran.

But whether a clerical order could be the spontaneous outgrowth of any age but one of high intellectual culture is a question which History is already in a position to

¹ The word *chaman* has been derived from the Sanskrit *sramana*—an ascetic—a name often given to the Buddhist monks.

answer, now that it has found in Archæology and Philology such powerful auxiliaries ; and it will require no long consultation of its pages to discover how intimately connected has been, in all countries, the gradual deepening of religious life with mental and artistic development.

a. It is to the decipherers of the Cuneiform inscriptions that we are indebted for the confirmation of a tradition, which had come down to the Roman historian Trogus Pompeius,¹ and which seems to have been well known to the author of *Gen. iv.*, viz., that the first people to reach an advanced state of civilisation and to create the arts and sciences, which an advanced civilisation requires, were the Turanians ; and the country where their civilisation and culture were developed most rapidly seems to have been the rich valley of the Tigris and Euphrates,

¹ ' Un passage célèbre de l'historien Justin dit qu'antérieurement à la puissance de toute autre nation, l'Asie des anciens, l'Asie antérieure, fut en entier possédée pendant quinze siècles par les Scythes, c'est-à-dire par les Touraniens, dont il fait le plus vieux peuple du monde, plus ancien même que les Egyptiens. Cette donnée, que Trogue-Pompée avait puisée dans les traditions asiatiques, est aujourd'hui confirmée par les découvertes de la science, et passe à l'état de vérité fondée sur des preuves solides. Le résultat le plus considérable et le plus inattendu des études assyriologiques a été la révélation du développement des populations touraniennes dans toute l'Asie antérieure avant les Aryas et les Sémites, et de la part prépondérante qu'elles eurent à la naissance des premières civilisations de cette partie du monde.'—F. Lenormant, *Les premières Civilisations*.

long before it was conquered and colonised by Hamites and Shemites.

We can form some idea of the antiquity of this Turanian civilisation from our knowledge that not long after it had been inherited from the Accadians of Babylonia by the Hamitic Cushites,¹ whose invasion of the Tigris and Euphrates valley seems to have taken place about 3500 B.C., the inhabitants of Babylonia were familiar with scientifically constructed buildings, gem-engraving, metal-work in gold, silver, bronze, and iron, bas-reliefs and sculptures in the round,² embroidered dresses, elegant furniture, the art of writing, mathematical science including the knowledge of square and cube roots, an elaborate system of weights and measures, treatises on various sciences, regular laws, extensive commerce and shipbuilding, artificial irrigation, scientific tillage of the ground, &c.³ It is hardly rash, moreover, to conclude that these inven-

¹ Vide *Gen.* x. 8-10. Nimrod has been identified with the Enoch of Berosus, and by Mr. G. Smith with Izdubar or Dubar, the hero of a great poem, which he deciphered from the clay tablets preserved in the palatine library of Nineveh.

² The Babylonians, however, never attained to such proficiency in sculpture as, at a much later period, their Shemitic neighbours the Assyrians.

³ Vide Summary of a Lecture, delivered by Mr. G. Smith at the Royal Institution, in *The Standard* for April 27, 1875.

tions were in the main of Turanian origin, as we know from the records of another Turanian nation, which has never been overwhelmed by any other race and which has carefully preserved its chronicles, how familiar were the Chinese with similar arts and sciences, at least the real Chinese, 'the hundred families,'¹ not long after, and probably before, their settlement in the far East of the Asiatic continent. At any rate, about the year 2357 B.C., the date assigned to the accession of the astronomer and musician emperor Yao, the country occupied by 'the hundred families' seems to have differed little from the China of the present day, except in one important particular; for it is certain that there were no Bonzes or any priests whatsoever in the so-called Celestial Empire, but fathers of families in their respective households, and the emperor, as father of the nation, before the sixth century B.C., when the Tao-sse religion was founded by the philosopher Lao-Tseu, a contemporary of Confucius, in the first great period of China's literature and intellectual activity. Nor does it seem that the need of a trained and independent clergy was at all felt before that time, for one cannot but be struck by the very insignificant part that

¹ Vide *Considérations sur les anciens Temps de l'Histoire chinoise*, by E. Biot.

religion of any kind plays in the early history of that country.

In the absence of priests and religion, however, we find from the earliest times among the Chinese, as among all other Turanian nations, plenty of magicians and magic, for the most part sorcery in disguise,¹ and especially in connection with an intercourse through '*media*' with the invisible world which is beginning to have such sad consequences among ourselves ;² but in the rites and practices of magic there is, strictly speaking, no worship. Magic is in fact the very antipodes of *religion*, as the object of the magician is to command and bind invisible powers, and the object of the religionist is to be bound himself.

Now, in his remarkable work on the occult sciences of Asia,³ M. F. Lenormant has clearly demonstrated that, in

¹ In the abstract, magic does not necessarily imply sorcery, which is the application of occult science to an evil purpose ; but as it is the natural tendency of all men to abuse whatever powers they possess, there must have been few magicians in the world who were not either sorcerers avowedly, or sorcerers, wittingly or unwittingly, in disguise.

² On the dangers of such intercourse with the invisible world, vide the remarkable sermon of T. Lake Harris on *Modern Spiritualism*. (Thomson, Glasgow.)

³ *Les Sciences occultes en Asie*, consisting of *La Magie chez les Chaldéens et les Origines accadiennes*, and *La Divination et la Science des Présages chez les Chaldéens*.

the Tigris and Euphrates valley, the institution of a regular clergy was subsequent to the Cushite conquest, that it was not definitively organised until the reign of Sargon, king of Aganê, who, about 2000 B.C., united all Babylonia under his sway, and that the Accadians who were then permitted to form an inferior order of the Chaldæan caste were not priests but magicians.¹ It is

¹ Respecting the definitive organisation of the Chaldæan religion under Sargon, F. Lenormant writes :—‘ Cette réforme n’eut pas ‘ pour seul objet et pour seul résultat de systématiser dans une ‘ hiérarchie d’émanations réglées d’après des conceptions de philo- ‘ sophie naturaliste la foule des dieux adorés jusque-là dans les ‘ différentes cités; elle poursuivit l’absorption dans un même ensemble ‘ de toutes les branches et de toutes les écoles de sciences surnaturelles ‘ existant dans le pays, quelle qu’en fût l’origine, de même que le ‘ brahmanisme combina avec le vieux fonds des croyances védiques ‘ et avec ses idées propres un certain nombre de données empruntées ‘ aux populations anté-aryennes de l’Inde. Ce fut une véritable ‘ œuvre de syncrétisme, où le culte accadien des esprits élémentaires ‘ prit place à côté de l’adoration des dieux chaldéo-babyloniens, mais ‘ en s’y subordonnant, mais en voyant les esprits auxquels il adressait ‘ ses invocations relégués dans la classe inférieure des émanations, ‘ intermédiaire entre les dieux et l’humanité. Alors ceux qui con- ‘ tinuaient la tradition des prêtres magiciens des âges primitifs furent ‘ agrégés au grand corps sacerdotal, comme dans l’Inde on admit ‘ parmi les brahmanes un certain nombre de familles de pontifes de ‘ la race brune antérieure aux Aryas. Reçus dans ce corps sacerdotal, ‘ les prêtres magiciens y formèrent des collèges spéciaux et d’ordre ‘ inférieur, ceux que le livre de Daniel appelle *khartumim*, *hakamim*, ‘ et *asaphim*. Le recueil de leurs formules traditionnelles et de leurs ‘ incantations, dont la formation et la compilation paraissent avoir été

also extremely probable that their elevation in the new hierarchy to a quasi-sacerdotal position was due to the *prestige* which they had acquired in the eyes of the new lords of the land, as masters not only of occult but also of natural, mathematical, metallurgic, and perhaps also agricultural science.

Much the same thing happened in Asia Minor, when, after its colonisation by Hamites, Shemites, and Aryans, the aboriginal Turanians, the Chalybians, celebrated for their skill in metallurgy and magic, gradually transformed the guilds in which the secrets of their craft were preserved into sacerdotal colleges, and in the threefold character of skilled metallurgists, magicians, and priests of Cybele, the Telchins, Dactyls, &c. soon recovered a position of influence and dignity among the populations which had become dominant in the country.

It is, however, to be observed that this transformation in Western Asia of scientific and magical into sacerdotal colleges seems to have required the presence in the country of a race more religiously inclined than the Turanian ; and in general the Hamites, arrived at an

‘ closes à partir de cette époque, fut admis au nombre des livres sacrés et revêtu d’un caractère canonique ; et il devint le livre spécial de ces collèges de prêtres adonnés à l’étude de la magie.’—*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, &c.

advanced stage of intellectual culture, have proved themselves as much more conscious of the need of a metaphysician clergy than the Turanians, as the Aryans and Shemites, arrived at a certain degree of intellectual culture, have proved themselves more conscious of the need of a pastoral clergy than the Hamites. But it is by no means necessary to assume that the development and rise of a clerical priesthood took place in Babylonia immediately after the Cushite conquest; indeed the tradition of the Tower of Babel,¹ the raising of which is attributed to the first Noachite settlers in the plain of Shinar (Babylonia proper), and which seems to have been the type of many subsequent and extant monuments in Asia, is that of a great work undertaken by men who trusted more in their own science and ability than in their religion, and points consequently to a time when the cultivators of science had not yet donned the priestly robe, though probably the magician's, and also to the breaking up of a great but short-lived empire, for want of a centralised sacerdotal order to create that unity of opinion which is so closely connected with unity of expression.

b. Whether or no the civilisation of the Nile valley was derived from that of the Tigris and Euphrates valley is still a moot-point, but, if they had a common origin,

¹ Vide *Gen.* xi.

it is certain that, in consequence of the long isolation of the former, it received at the hands of the Egyptians quite an original development.

Since the discoveries of Mariette, there can be little doubt that the chronology of Manetho's list of dynasties can be trusted, and that we have from the monuments singularly accurate information of Egypt reaching to about the year 5000 B.C., when Menes of This founded Memphis for the capital of a flourishing state, known as the 'Old Empire,' and attaining its apogee under the 4th dynasty of Manetho, about 4000 years B.C.

Under the first six dynasties, the Egyptians already executed such marvellous works of engineering as the Pyramids of Gizeh,¹ and attained to such proficiency in

¹ 'No one can possibly examine the interior of the Great Pyramid 'without being struck with astonishment at the wonderful mechanical 'skill displayed in its construction. The immense blocks of granite 'brought from Syene—a distance of 500 miles—polished like glass, 'and so fitted that the joints can hardly be detected. Nothing can 'be more wonderful than the extraordinary amount of knowledge 'displayed in the construction of the discharging chambers over the 'roof of the principal apartment, in the alignment of the sloping 'galleries, in the provision of ventilating shafts, and in all the wonderful contrivances of the structure. All these, too, were carried 'out with such precision, that, notwithstanding the immense superincumbent weight, no settlement on any part can be detected to the 'extent of an appreciable fraction of an inch. Nothing more perfect, 'mechanically, has ever been erected since that time.'—Fergusson, *History of Architecture*.

the plastic arts¹ as is exemplified by the statuette of the seated scribe in the Louvre,² or the statues of king Schaфра (Chephren), builder of the second Pyramid of Gizeh, of Ra-Nefer and Ra-em-ke, in the museum of Bulaq,³ while everything that could minister to the luxury of the wealthy was amply provided by industry necessarily directed by science;⁴ but during this long

¹ 'More striking than even the paintings are the portrait-statues which have recently been discovered in the secret recesses of these tombs; nothing more wonderfully truthful and realistic has been done since that time, till the invention of photography, and even that can hardly represent a man with such unflattering truthfulness as these old coloured terra-cotta portraits of the sleek rich men of the pyramid period.'—Fergusson, *History of Architecture*.

² In the centre of the *Salle civile*.

³ All these were exhibited in Paris at the Universal Exhibition of 1867.

⁴ 'Ce sont constamment des scènes de la vie domestique et agricole qui sont représentées sur les parois des tombeaux memphites de la IV^e et de la V^e dynastie. A l'aide de ces représentations, nous pénétrons dans tous les secrets de l'existence de féodalité patriarcale que menaient les grands de l'Egypte il y a soixante siècles. Nous visitons les fermes vastes et florissantes éparses dans leurs domaines; nous connaissons leurs bergeries où les têtes de bétail se comptent par milliers, leurs parcs où des antilopes, des cigognes, des oies de toute sorte d'espèces sont gardées en domesticité. Nous les voyons eux-mêmes dans leurs élégantes demeures, entourés du respect et de l'obéissance de leurs vassaux, j'allais dire de leurs serfs, et les détails que l'on peut glaner dans certains textes sur la condition des paysans autoriseraient cette expression. Nous connaissons les fleurs qu'ils cultivent dans leurs parterres, les troupes

period we find little or no religion in the country but the grossest Fetishism. The need consequently of an independent clergy, occupied with pastoral duties or even with the study of metaphysics, could not have been felt ; nor would its action have had any scope, had it been in existence. ‘ From the monuments of the first Egyptian ‘ dynasties,’ writes F. Lenormant,¹ ‘ we learn that power ‘ was concentrated in the hands of a military caste, of a ‘ not very numerous aristocracy, which bears somewhat ‘ the appearance of being composed of conquerors, and ‘ to which the people is in complete subjection. Its ‘ families are all more or less connected with the royal ‘ house, owing to the numerous children born in the harem ‘ of the sovereign. Regular great feudal lords, the mem- ‘ bers of this oligarchy occupy hereditarily all the high ‘ places in the army and the state, and are succeeded by

‘ de chant et de ballet qu’ils entretiennent dans leurs maisons pour ‘ leur divertissement. Les détails les plus minutieux de leur *sport* ‘ nous sont révélés par leurs tombeaux. Ils se montrent à nous pas- ‘ sionnés amateurs de chasse et de pêche, deux exercices dont ils trou- ‘ vaient autant d’occasions qu’ils pouvaient désirer sur les nombreux ‘ canaux dont le pays était sillonné dans tous les sens. C’est encore ‘ pour le compte des hauts personnages de l’aristocratie que de grandes ‘ barques aux voiles carrées, fréquemment figurées dans les hypogées, ‘ flottaient sur le Nil, instruments d’un commerce dont tout révèle ‘ l’extrême activité.’—F. Lenormant, *Les premières Civilisations*.

¹ *Ibid.*

‘their sons in the government of provinces. They have even, like all the old pagan aristocracies, taken possession of the priesthood, and keep it as a monopoly in their hands.’ . . .

‘From the time of the 11th dynasty, religious subjects begin to predominate greatly in works of art. They are multiplied in every form and on every kind of monument, even on objects of common use. On the other hand, we are now in possession of much sculpture of the period which extends from the 3rd to the 4th dynasty, and nearly all taken from tombs, that is to say from the class of monuments, in which religious symbolism has found among all nations its most natural place. Well ! *without one single exception*, these sculptures show us an art exclusively applied to the representation of scenes of real life ; one does not know of a single symbolical representation, a single divine image of the period of the Old Empire. It is to be seen that in these monuments we are very far from the Egypt which the testimonies of the classic writers are unanimous in describing, from the Egypt revealed by the monuments of all the centuries of her existence from the 11th dynasty forth, very far from that Egypt, eminently religious, the classic land of symbolism, of mysteries, and of speculations of the highest philosophy. Works of art supply the truest mirror of

‘ the genius and general tendencies of societies. And, in
‘ fact, everything seems to indicate that the first civilisa-
‘ tion of Egypt was essentially materialistic and very little
‘ taken up with religious matters. It is not that we do
‘ not occasionally meet with names of gods in the inscrip-
‘ tions of the Old Empire, nor that these names be not
‘ those of divinities, whom we find worshipped at a later
‘ period. But it is no less certain that the religion of the
‘ early dynasties was profoundly different from that of
‘ later Egypt, much coarser and much more materialistic.
‘ Such conceptions of the Pharaonic pantheon which
‘ represent lofty conceptions, of a truly philosophical cha-
‘ racter, and in which a strong spiritualistic tendency is to
‘ be discerned, Ammon or Osiris, for instance, either do
‘ not seem to have been known in the first ages, or, if one
‘ does come at rare intervals across a mention of them,
‘ the worship and conception of them was only in germ.
‘ The religion of the most ancient dynasties, such as it is
‘ revealed to us by the monuments, is confined to the
‘ purely astronomical and materialistic worship of the sun,
‘ and to the adoration of sacred animals, of the bull of
‘ Memphis and the goat of Mendes, so manifestly fetish-
‘ istic, and to which the metaphysical religion of later
‘ times had so much trouble in giving a high philosophical
‘ signification. And even that religion, such as it was,

‘ evidently held very little place in the life of the Egyptians of the Old Empire. The real worship of those ‘ prodigiously remote ages was the debasing adoration of ‘ kings, divinised even in their lifetime by the mere fact of ‘ their being in possession of supreme power.¹ That was ‘ the cultus really developed under the Old Empire, that ‘ which is most recorded by the monuments, that which ‘ had altars everywhere. The worship of no other god ‘ came near it either in development or in importance. ‘ The radical difference in genius of the two civilisations ‘ of Egypt is perfectly brought out in the contrast between ‘ the worldly wisdom of prince Phtah-hotep’s precepts in ‘ the papyrus of the *Bibliothèque impériale*,² and the specu-

¹ This *king*-worship of Fetishism must be carefully distinguished from the *hero*-worship of Anthropomorphism. In the former, it is rather the throne, the seat of power, than he who happens to sit on it, that is the object of veneration.

² This papyrus, probably the oldest treatise hitherto discovered, and dating from the 5th Egyptian dynasty, was written by a prince related to the royal family, Phtah-hotep, who had attained the patriarchal age of 110 years. ‘ C’est une sorte de code de civilité ‘ puérile et honnête, un traité de morale toute positive et pratique, ‘ apprenant la manière de se guider dans le monde, qui ne s’élève pas ‘ jusqu’à une sphère plus haute que les livres de Confucius. On ‘ parle beaucoup aujourd’hui de *morale indépendante*. Nous enga- ‘ geons les adeptes de ce beau système à méditer le vieux livre ‘ égyptien. Ce sont juste les préceptes qu’il leur faut. Ils n’y ‘ trouveront aucune trace de cette doctrine chrétienne du renoncement ‘ et du sacrifice qui leur paraît si déplorable, mais seulement des

‘lations often confused, but always sublime, of the *Ritual of the Dead*.’

‘In the early ages the exercise of sacerdotal functions seems intimately connected with the great offices of state; public worship was then merely a matter of police and public order, which belonged to the departments of civil functionaries; there was no priesthood properly so called, having an independent constitution.’

But after a long period between the 6th and the 11th dynasties, during which the history of Egypt is involved in much obscurity, we find under the ‘Middle’ or ‘First Theban Empire,’ which attained its apogee under the 12th dynasty, about 3000 B.C., a great number of flourishing sacerdotal colleges, forming a regular and independent clergy, which claimed to exercise religious authority no longer in virtue of superior strength, but of superior wisdom to that of other men; and it is highly probable that these new colleges were originally composed, not of metaphysicians, who only studied casually physical, mathematical, and occult sciences, but of scien-

‘règles pour respecter l’ordre établi de police sociale et pour faire rapidement son chemin dans le monde, sans gêner aucune de ses passions, ou, comme disent les partisans du système, aucun des instincts de la nature.’—F. Lenormant, *Les premières Civilisations*. This Lord Chesterfield of his day must have lived more than two thousand years before Moses.

tific men who in consequence of their deep researches had become metaphysicians. I am not however aware that before the 'New' or 'Second Theban Empire' and the great Pharaohs of the 18th and 19th dynasties there is any evidence of this metaphysician clergy being already sufficiently occupied with pastoral duties to require and submit to an ascetic discipline, such as that which exacted vows of chastity from the priests of Isis.

Under the two Theban Empires we often find indeed civil and religious jurisdiction exercised, as under the Old Empire, by the same individual, but now it is no longer the magistrate who makes himself a priest, but the priest who is solicited to become a magistrate.¹

¹ 'L'organisation judiciaire était presque indépendante du pouvoir royal; les rois ne jugeaient eux-mêmes qu'en dernier ressort, dans des cas très-rares et en général dans des affaires qui tenaient par quelque côté à la politique. La juridiction ordinaire et régulière appartenait à des tribunaux qui étaient tenus d'observer rigoureusement les lois. La classe sacerdotale était en possession de recruter la magistrature égyptienne. Les grandes villes de Memphis, d'Héliopolis, de Thèbes, qui renfermaient les collèges sacerdotaux les plus florissants, fournissaient les principaux juges; chacune en donnait dix. Ces trente juges choisissaient entre eux un président, et la place que celui-ci laissait libre était immédiatement remplie par un autre juge de la même ville. Ces magistrats étaient entretenus aux dépens du trésor royal, et le président avait des appointements considérables. Les affaires se traitaient par écrit, jamais de vive voix, afin, disait-on, de prévenir tout ce qui pouvait troubler l'impartialité du juge en excitant les passions.'—F. Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*.

The kings, moreover, of the 18th and 19th dynasties, although perhaps the greatest warriors of their age, were initiated into the learning and mysteries of the great sacerdotal colleges, and to judge of them as they are represented on their monuments, they must have spent a great part of their time in priestly duties, performing rites so elaborate as to require a special training on the part of the celebrant; while the high-priest of Amen-Ra (Ammon) at Thebes seems to have been a great power in the state, second only to the monarch.

Now it was in this preeminently religious and clerical age of the Second Theban Empire that Egypt was not only at the height of her political power,—extending her empire over a great part of Western Asia, and exacting tribute by means of a fleet manned by her Phœnician vassals from the Pelasgians of the Archipelago,—but that she was also in the golden age of her literature and art, and generally of her intellectual and æsthetic culture; this being sufficiently manifest from the sublime *Ritual of the Dead*, the lyric poem of Pentaur inscribed on a *stèle* discovered at Karnac, the remains of the magnificent temples and palaces at Karnac, Luxor, Gurnah, Deir-el-Bahari, Tell-en-Amarna, Abydos, &c., but especially the ‘Hypostyle Hall’ of Seti (Sethos) I. at Karnac,¹

¹ ‘St. Peter’s, with its colonnades, and the Vatican, make up ‘an immense mass, but as insignificant in extent as in style when

and the no less wonderful and exquisitely beautiful statuary of the period, such as the colossi at Ibsambul in Nubia erected by Ramses II.¹

‘compared with this glory of ancient Thebes and its surrounding temples. The culminating point and climax of all this group of buildings is the hypostyle hall.’ . . . ‘No language can convey an idea of its beauty, and no artist has yet been able to reproduce its form so as to convey to those who have not seen it an idea of its grandeur. The mass of its central piers, illumined by a flood of light from the clerestory, and the smaller pillars of the wings gradually fading into obscurity, are so arranged and lighted as to convey an idea of infinite space; at the same time, the beauty and massiveness of the forms, and the brilliancy of their coloured decorations, all combine to stamp this as the greatest of man’s architectural works; but such a one as it would be impossible to reproduce, except in such a climate and in that individual style in which, and for which, it was created.’—Fergusson, *History of Architecture*.

The great halls of Egyptian palaces seem in general to have been designed more for religious than for secular purposes.

¹ ‘Jamais chez aucun peuple, on n’a mieux réussi pour la vérité, la perfection du modelé et la noblesse tranquille de l’expression des traits, que dans les têtes des colosses d’Ibsamboul. Winckelmann n’a pas tracé d’autres règles pour cette beauté calme, qu’il regarde comme le comble de l’art. La Junon Ludovisi, quatre fois au moins plus petite, ne l’emporte pas par le sentiment de l’ensemble, par l’harmonie de tant de parties simultanément étendues. Phidias lui-même n’a pas imprimé plus de majesté sur le front de ses dieux et de ses héros. L’âge des dynasties primitives n’est donc pas, quelque charme de vérité et de vie qu’aient ses œuvres, l’âge le plus grand de l’art égyptien. Celui-ci s’est élevé encore sous

Egyptian art has indeed been reproached for allowing itself to fall into routine and stagnation, and, as usual, the blame thereof has been cast on the priesthood ; but, as it happened, the age of artistic routine only set in after the extinction of the 20th dynasty, when the clergy was oppressed by the exclusively military dynasties (the 21st, 22nd, 23rd, and 24th),¹ that reigned in the Delta over three centuries, and, with their captains of foreign mercenary soldiers, brought the country almost to ruin. One of the first and most notable consequences of this usurpation was the exodus of the high-priest of Amen-Ra, with a great number of his sacerdotal colleagues, into Ethiopia, where they found an Avignon at Napata, so that the principal centre of Egyptian culture was no longer in Egypt, and art, deprived of the wealthiest ecclesiastical patronage, soon fell into the hands of mere

‘l’influence de la pensée religieuse et l’impulsion du sacerdoce.’
F. Lenormant, *Les premières Civilisations*.

The colossi of Ibsambul were repeated in the Sydenham Palace before the Eastern wing was burnt down.

¹ ‘Ce sont désormais de vraies dynasties de *mamelouks*, comme ‘celles qui gouvernèrent au moyen âge l’Egypte musulmane ; toutes ‘sortent de ces corps de soldats étrangers appartenant principalement ‘au peuple libyen des Maschouasch, les Maxyes d’Hérodote, qu’à ‘partir de ce moment nous voyons former exclusivement la garde des ‘souverains qui règnent sur les bords du Nil.’—F. Lenormant, *Les premières Civilisations*.

handicraftsmen, who can only be complimented on their skill as copyists.

c. It is partly because the religions of the Turanians and Hamites were little animated by missionary zeal, that there are so few Aryan or Shemitic populations which have not left trustworthy records of an age, already far removed from barbarism, when they had no other priests than the hereditary chiefs of families, including such as had also become the chiefs of tribes and nations, and when these *patres* were much less occupied with spiritual than with temporal matters, being, in fact, priests because they were kings, and not kings because they were priests. We find indeed that a bard was sometimes called in to compose or sing a hymn, or a divine to interpret an augury, just as a butcher (*popa*) was called in to slay the sacrificial victim, and that, from time to time, a solitary *vates*, generally from a foreign land, such as Balaam,¹ acquired sufficient celebrity to be welcomed by the chiefs; but these alone exercised and were believed to exercise legitimately religious authority, and in general they accepted or rejected the communications of the stranger as it best suited their convenience.

¹ Balaam came to the Midianites from Pethor in Mesopotamia (*Deut.* xxiii. 4), so it is not improbable that he was connected with the Chaldæans of Babylon.

Among the Hellenes, we see in the *Iliad* the servility of even so renowned a divine as Calchas in the presence of Agamemnon, who, ποιμὴν λαῶν, is no less the high-priest offering sacrifice for his people, than their judge and military commander; but what is particularly to be noticed about Agamemnon, Menelaus, Ulysses, or any of the Hellenic chiefs is that the sacerdotal functions of their hereditary office are what takes up least of their time and attention; and although the age described by Homer does not appear to have been unfamiliar with the luxurious civilisation of Asia,—the Achæans and Ionians having already learnt to build such richly furnished palaces as that of Menelaus in the *Odyssey*, and such admirably constructed fortifications as can still be seen at Mycenæ,¹ and to burn their dead on

¹ 'The walls enclosing the castle must not be called rude, a notion which was least of all in the minds of the later Hellenes when they ascribed them to the Cyclopes. For the name of these 'dæmonic workmen is an expression intended to designate the 'gigantic, miraculous and incomprehensible character of these early 'monuments, just as the German people call works of the Romans 'devil's dykes, because these erections have no connection of any 'kind with the world as known to the existing generation.' . . . 'Royal houses which perpetuated their memory in works of this 'kind necessarily possessed in addition to their hereditary wealth far-'extending connections, since they were able to procure foreign bronze 'and foreign kinds of stone.'—E. Curtius, *History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

costly piles after the fashion of the Phœnicians,—we must come down to a much more refined and intellectual age before we find some of the descendants of the old patriarchal and military nobility taking to become priests in earnest, whether after having lost more or less of their temporal power, as the Eumolpidæ at Eleusis, or still retaining it, as the aristocracy of Delphi, and forming a notable contrast with their fellow *ἐνπατρίδαι* who had chosen to continue living as mere country gentlemen. The latter, for the most part, only valued their religious prerogatives, like the Sadducaic sacerdotal families of Jerusalem, as a means of influence and emolument or of gratification to their pride, and had little or no sympathy for the progressive ideas cherished at Delphi; whereas the former were throughout the Hellenic world the leaders of the party of progress, at least of that true progress which is realised by development, and not by destruction. Such, for instance, were the Butadæ, priests of Athena Polias at Athens, who entered so warmly into the plans of Pisistratus for making their city one of the great intellectual and artistic centres of Hellas; and such were the Ægidæ,¹ priests of Apollo Carneus in

¹ 'In war and peace their influence was great in the state of Lycurgus, and, by means of the widely-extending connections of their house, especially adapted to counteract the one-sided and inflexible

Lacedæmon, under whose influence Sparta¹ became, in the 7th century B.C., with Delphi, the cradle of Dorian lyric poetry and Hellenic music, both developed by Terpander, Thaletas, and Alcman, in connection with the festival and cultus of the family god of that illustrious house.

But one of the most essential characteristics of a true and efficient clergy was still lacking to that portion of the Greek Eupatride families which had particularly

‘Dorism, and to introduce the beneficent germs of universal Hellenic culture into Sparta. Hence we may ascribe to their influence the circumstance that Terpander was invited to domesticate at Sparta the lyric art which his creative mind had systematised, to ban the evil dæmons of discord by the kindly charm of music, and to widen the narrow bounds of Spartan culture. His art was officially introduced and assigned a well-defined position in the commonwealth; his seven-stringed cither received legal sanction.’—E. Curtius, *ibid.*

¹ ‘Wherever a usage of art had asserted itself which found a place in the spiritual life of Sparta, it was admitted with honours; and artists, desirous of a national recognition, exhibited themselves before the eyes and ears of the Spartans. Alcman proudly boasts that he belongs to Sparta, the city abounding in sacred tripods, where the Heliconian muses had revealed themselves to him. But not everything new was applauded; for nothing was more opposed to the ways of the Dorians, than to bow down before the capricious changes of fashion. Unlike the arbitrary fancies, according to which the muses were cherished at the Tyrannical courts, the Spartans were careful in this matter also to adhere to a fixed measure for all efforts, and to a law harmonising with the whole system of the state.’ *Ibid.*

devoted themselves to the study and dispensation of sacred things, viz. that, owing to the very decentralised political condition of Greece and to the peculiar features of Greek Polytheism, they had not even sought or desired to unite themselves, like the Brahmins of India, into a centralised hierarchy, and thus to acquire the independence which united action alone can secure, and which is so necessary to the sacerdotal office, since a true priest must be ready to rebuke and excommunicate even the most powerful ruler, if required thus to vindicate the dictates of justice or the laws of morality. Fortunately this defect was to a certain extent redeemed by the Panhellenic authority of the Delphic oracle and by the quite marvellous wisdom and activity of the little band of priestly families attached to the sanctuary; but if these sufficed to impose on the Hellenic race the recognition of a fairly pure moral law, it is obvious that something more was required to secure its enforcement, and the Eupatride families attached to other sanctuaries were for the most part little inclined to take up the arduous and absorbing duties of a real pastorate.

Delphi was consequently obliged to do what Rome did in the century of Innocent III., viz. to create a new clergy intended rather to supplement than to supersede an older priesthood not sufficiently active and centralised

to meet the spiritual wants of the age. This, the crowning gift of the Pythian Apollo to the race of his own creation,¹ was the foundation of the Orphic and Pythagorean brotherhoods, deriving their prophetic authority directly from Delphi,² and composed of men who, although

¹ The Hellenic race is well-nigh proved to have grown out of a confederation of Pelasgian tribes in Thessaly, whose common sanctuary was that of Apollo in the vale of Tempe; and it was probably not until Thessaly had fallen into the power of rude tribes pouring in from Epirus, that the centre of the Amphictyonic league was translated to Delphi. Every ninth year a solemn procession united the two sanctuaries.

² So that Pythagoras was able to teach dogmatically as an Apolline prophet, and it sufficed to say *Ἀντὸς ἔφη* ('*Magister dixit*') to stay contention among his disciples.

The *theology* of Pythagoras, which included his ethics, and which was in the main Delphic, Hellenic and Dualistic, must however be distinguished from his *philosophy*, which was partly derived from the Pantheistic metaphysics of Asia and Egypt, and partly the outcome of his own independent speculations. The great truth taught by Pythagorean theology was that of the high prerogative of self-sacrifice and its vicarious efficacy (well illustrated by the story of the Pythagoreans, Damon and Phintias), the truth which has reached its last expression in the Catholic doctrine of the Communion of Saints in Christ (involving that of the solidarity between the Church militant and the Church triumphant). The great truth of Pythagorean philosophy was that of the *analogy*, or *correspondence*, between the spiritual and the material world. It was partly owing to the fact that its doctrines were derived from such heterogeneous sources, but chiefly to dialectics and psychology being still in their childhood, that the early Pythagorean school did not always succeed in articulating well together the precious truths, which it had collected, so

from their order sprang some of the greatest statesmen, mathematicians, astronomers,¹ musicians, and even athletes² of antiquity, were before everything else priests and pastors, submitting themselves to a quite ascetic rule and to a very severe training.³

that it often had recourse to extravagant hypotheses (such as that of numbers being the *essence* of things both spiritual and material), in order to make a synthesis, for which its analysis was insufficient, and that its theology, or fund of metaphysics and ethics derived from or based on Apolline oracles, was generally much more advanced than its philosophy, or independent speculations.

The principal difference between the Pythagoreans and the Orphici was that the former sometimes taught as prophets or as theologians and sometimes as philosophers, whereas the latter, having introduced much less of original elements into their syncretic system, never assumed to reason as independent philosophers, and always claimed inspired authority for their doctrines, although they also tried, not always successfully, to combine the Dualistic ethics of Delphi with notions derived from the Pantheistic cosmogonies of Asia and Egypt.

¹ It is scarcely doubted that the Pythagoreans were the first to teach the great astronomical truth of the earth's revolution on its axis, a theory which was so long set aside by the authority of Aristotle. Vide Hoefer's *Histoire de l'Astronomie*, and Victor Cousin's *Histoire générale de la Philosophie*.

² Pythagoras himself gained the prize for wrestling at the Olympic Games, and his disciple Milo of Croton was not only a great military commander but the most celebrated athlete of his day.

³ 'Pythagore paraît être entré dans les prescriptions les plus minutieuses en matière de liturgie, à en juger du moins par les préceptes qui nous sont restés de lui. Il voulait que l'on fit d'abord des offrandes aux dieux olympiens et aux dieux protecteurs

It is hardly contestable that these new religious orders

‘de l’Etat.’ . . . ‘Les fêtes étaient aussi marquées par des prescriptions minutieuses.’ . . . ‘Le philosophe de Samos faisait jouer dans le culte un grand rôle à la musique, qui, disait-il, avait la vertu de calmer l’esprit, d’entretenir sa pureté, en même temps qu’elle adoucissait les mœurs. Aussi les disciples de Pythagore chantaient-ils tous les soirs des hymnes, avant d’aller se livrer au sommeil.’ . . . ‘Dans les funérailles, Pythagore n’avait pas plus épargné les prescriptions. Il défendait que l’on brûlât les corps des morts sur le bûcher, et ne voulait pas non plus qu’on les enterrât, comme le faisaient souvent les anciens, dans des cerceils de cèdre, bois réputé incorruptible.’ . . . ‘Il accordait une grande autorité à la divination, à laquelle il avait sans cesse recours.’ . . . “ ‘L’homme,” disait Pythagore, “doit révéler la divinité comme ses parents, ses amis.” C’était presque prêcher la doctrine de l’amour divin.’ . . . ‘L’homme qui cherche à être sage est agréable aux dieux, dit encore Pythagore, et voilà pourquoi c’est lui qu’il faut charger d’implorer pour nous la divinité ; faisant ainsi de la vertu un véritable sacerdoce. Le philosophe voulait que l’homme s’abandonnât tout entier aux mains de la Providence ; aussi enseignait-il que dans la prière, il ne faut pas spécifier les bienfaits qu’on réclame des dieux, mais s’en remettre à la connaissance qu’ils ont des biens qui nous sont désirables. C’est par la vertu seule que l’homme arrive à la béatitude, privilège exclusif de l’être doué de raison.’ . . . ‘Pythagore recommande comme le plus sacré des devoirs la piété filiale.’ . . . ‘Dans tout ce qui touche à la chasteté, au mariage, Pythagore est d’une pureté de principes qui rappelle le christianisme.’ . . . ‘Ces principes furent toujours ceux de son école ; on les retrouve dans les écrits des Pythagoriciens Périclès et Phintys. Les plus beaux caractères de femmes que l’antiquité grecque nous présente, ont été formés à l’école de Pythagore ; et les auteurs s’accordent à dire qu’il était parvenu à inculquer chez le sexe, non-seulement le précieux et pur sentiment

acquired from the time of their foundation in the century

‘de la chasteté, mais cette simplicité de mœurs, cette réserve, ce
 ‘mérite solide et ce goût des pensées sérieuses, qui ont atteint leur
 ‘parfait modèle chez quelques femmes chrétiennes. A sa voix, les
 ‘femmes, se dépouillant de leurs frivoles atours, allaient consacrer à
 ‘Héra leur parure, comme on voit les vierges, au moment de prendre
 ‘le voile, offrir à Marie les vêtements qui servaient à rehausser leur
 ‘beauté. Pythagore recommande surtout au sexe la piété, comme
 ‘la vertu qui lui sied particulièrement. Dans le reste de sa morale,
 ‘ce philosophe n’est ni moins élevé ni moins rigide. L’idée de
 ‘justice dominait tous les actes de ceux qui suivaient sa doctrine, et
 ‘en observant entre eux une bienveillance mutuelle, ils avaient en
 ‘vue de plaire à la divinité. Pythagore veut, avant tout, que la
 ‘parole de l’homme soit sacrée, et il menace le parjure des supplices
 ‘de l’Hadès et du courroux céleste. On comprend qu’un tel en-
 ‘seignement moral ait pu former des hommes d’une vertu exem-
 ‘plaire. Toute l’antiquité est unanime sur la haute vertu et la
 ‘simplicité de mœurs d’Archytas de Tarente. L’un des plus beaux
 ‘caractères de l’antiquité, Epaminondas, avait été l’élève d’un
 ‘Pythagoricien, Lysis. Suivant une tradition conservée par Cicéron,
 ‘Eschyle, dont les drames sont empreints d’un caractère si moral et
 ‘si religieux, était aussi sectateur de Pythagore.’ . . .

‘Mais il ne se bornait pas à donner des préceptes pour bien vivre,
 ‘tel, par exemple, que celui de se tenir toujours prêt à mourir ; il
 ‘avait poussé plus loin les prescriptions, et imaginé, pour ceux qui
 ‘acceptaient complètement sa loi, une règle, dans le sens ascétique
 ‘du mot. Il ressort en effet de ses enseignements, qu’il avait in-
 ‘stitué un véritable état monastique qui rappelle, à certains égards,
 ‘celui des thérapeutes ou des herrnhuters.’ . . . ‘Une règle de
 ‘cette nature entraînait nécessairement une vie en commun ; les
 ‘Pythagoriciens formaient en effet diverses communautés de nombre
 ‘et d’importance divers. En y entrant, chaque néophyte apportait
 ‘ses biens, mais il pouvait les reprendre en la quittant, car les

of Pisistratus a very strong influence over the most highly educated classes of the Hellenic world,¹ especially through

‘vœux n’étaient pas perpétuels. Tous les ascètes pythagoriciens étaient vêtus à peu près de même : ils portaient une tunique blanche retenue par un cordon de lin ; ils évitaient dans leur habillement l’usage du cuir. Pour être admis dans la communauté, il fallait être d’une réputation sans tache, annoncer un heureux naturel. On était d’ailleurs préparé par un noviciat durant lequel il fallait se soumettre à des purifications et à des expiations. Il y avait trois degrés ou grades pour arriver à la connaissance complète de la loi. Pendant deux années, le novice ne devait faire qu’écouter, ne jamais parler et exercer sa mémoire à retenir ce qui lui était enseigné ; il s’appelait alors *auditeur* (ἀκουστικός). Il passait ensuite dans les rangs des *μαθηματικοί*, et se livrait à l’étude de la géométrie, de la gnomonique, de la musique. Enfin il était admis dans la dernière classe, celle des *φυσικοί*, où la science de la nature intime des choses, la cosmogonie, la métaphysique, étaient enseignées. Car c’était aux ascètes seuls que Pythagore faisait connaître sa vraie doctrine ; il ne communiquait au vulgaire que les principes qui constituaient sa doctrine exotérique.’ . . . ‘Durant les cinq années du noviciat, les Pythagoriciens passaient par un grand nombre d’épreuves et d’études destinées à fortifier leur vertu et à éclairer graduellement leur intelligence. Les femmes étaient aussi admises dans la communauté et y pouvaient même aspirer à un rang élevé.’ . . . ‘A certaines heures, on faisait des lectures en commun. Le plus jeune lisait à haute voix ; le plus âgé présidait l’assemblée, et le soir, il rappelait à chacun les principaux articles de la règle. Tout Pythagoricien, avant de s’endormir, devait faire son examen de conscience.’ . . . ‘Cette vie en commun développait chez les Pythagoriciens un puissant sentiment de fraternité.’ . . . ‘Une brouille venait-elle à éclater parmi eux, ils ne devaient pas laisser coucher le soleil avant de se réconcilier.’—A. Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique*.

their connection with important sanctuaries, such as that of Demeter at Eleusis, and it is not improbable that had they been fully organised a few years earlier, before the democratic movement had set in, which gradually expelled the upper classes of society from political life, they would have saved Greece and her colonies from the ruin of everything that was most admirable in their civilisation, their culture, their art, and their polity, and from falling into a state of anarchy, which should make us regard the Roman conquest as a happy deliverance.²

¹ Vide *Antécédents du Phèdre* in *Fragments de Philosophie ancienne*, by Victor Cousin.

² It was in fact to the Roman conquest that Greece owed, not only at least three centuries of almost undisturbed prosperity and peace, but, after a long period of stagnation relieved only by the pedantry of the Alexandrian grammarians, a magnificent *renaissance* of her art, literature, and philosophy, under the Emperors.

‘Je sais,’ writes M. Duruy, ‘que l’empire a produit des monstres. Mais heureusement il était trop vaste pour que les folies et les cruautés d’un seul homme, si grandes fussent-elles, pussent le troubler beaucoup. Pour les empereurs, je ne parle pas des fous comme Caligula, Néron et Elagabal, mais des politiques comme Tibère et Domitien, il y a deux histoires. Comme leur dieu Janus, ils ont double visage. Si on les voit à Rome, au milieu de la noblesse, qui est contre eux, dit Suétone, en conspiration permanente, ce sont d’exécrables tyrans ; si on ne voit que l’empire, ils peuvent passer pour des princes fermes et vigilants. Il faut les regarder sous ce double aspect. D’ordinaire on n’en montre qu’un ; ne cachons pas celui-ci, mais aussi n’oublions pas l’autre. Que le prince du sénat reste donc avec ses délateurs et ses bourreaux, les mains teintes de sang ; et que l’empereur apparaisse

As it was, the Pythagorean community was organised in time to play a glorious part even on the political arena

‘avec les traditions de paix publique et d’ordre commencées par Auguste, continuées par Tibère, Claude, Vespasien, cet infatigable travailleur qui voulut mourir debout, par ses deux fils, par les Antonins et Septime Sévère, qui, chargé d’ans et de gloire, donnait encore pour dernier mot d’ordre à ses soldats : “Tra-vaillons.”

‘Ces soins réussirent et assurèrent deux siècles de bonheur au monde. Alors on vit ce singulier spectacle d’un empire de cent millions d’hommes, armé sur ses frontières, mais régi à l’intérieur sans un soldat, merveille qui venait sans doute de l’impossibilité d’une révolte heureuse ; mais aussi et surtout de la reconnaissance des sujets pour un gouvernement qui, en général, n’exerçait qu’une haute et salutaire protection, sans intervenir d’une façon tracassière dans l’administration des intérêts locaux.’—*Histoire romaine*.

‘Le siècle des Antonins,’ writes M. Pierron, ‘assiste à la résurrection littéraire d’un peuple que tous croyaient mort à jamais. Plutarque écrit les *Vies* des grands hommes, et laisse des chefs-d’œuvre en d’autres genres encore. Les stoïciens nouveaux sont dignes des maîtres du Portique. Lucien rivalise de génie, d’esprit et de style avec les plus parfaits prosateurs de l’ancienne Athènes. La poésie n’élève pas bien haut ses ailes : pourtant Oppien et Babrius sont plus que d’habiles versificateurs. Alexandrie trouve enfin sa voie, qu’elle avait longtemps cherchée en vain : Plotin, Longin, Porphyre, font admirer à l’univers de hautes et profondes doctrines et des talents supérieurs. L’école d’Athènes, fille et héritière de l’école d’Alexandrie, a aussi ses écrivains. Après Themistius, après Julien, elle n’est pas encore épuisée. Son dernier effort fut sublime. Un homme naquit, jusque dans le cinquième siècle, en qui revivait à la fois et quelque chose de Platon et quelque chose d’Homère, Proclus, le dernier des Grecs, un grand prosateur et un grand poète.’—*Histoire de la Littérature grecque*.

of Magna Græcia, and to assert the Apolline ethics in public as well as in private life.¹ For several years

It is to be observed that in all the cities of Greece, Italy, Asia Minor, &c., which were permitted to retain their autonomy (a *respublica*), the adoption or maintenance of an undemocratic constitution was rigorously insisted on by the Roman government.

¹ The ground in Magna Græcia and Sicily had been prepared for them by some famous legislators, equally inspired by the Delphic Apollo. Of whose institutions, 'the first principle,' writes E. Curtius, 'was this, that the ancient houses and families in the towns 'should be maintained with all possible care, in order that ancient 'manners and religion might be handed down in them ; and they 'further comprehended an indissoluble union between law and 'morality, a vigorous resistance against every tendency to innovation, a restriction of the love of commerce, and an endeavour to 'attain to a public spirit based on loyalty and love of truth. Hence 'it cannot appear strange that Zaleucus, as well as Charondas, is 'brought into connection with Pythagoras: a connection founded on 'no other idea than this, that the wisdom of all is derived from the 'Pythian Apollo, whose lofty principles Pythagoras introduced into 'human life in their greatest purity and perfection, but as a consequence also with the least success.' . . . 'It is *one* spirit 'which lives in the above-mentioned institutions ; it is the Hellenic 'spirit, which found in them its most valid expression ; and were 'the written statutes of the great legislators of the Western colonies 'preserved to us, their dialect and style of language would clearly 'attest the Delphic influence by which they were animated.' E. Curtius, *History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

The whole work of Pythagoras has been represented by so many historians as Oriental and anti-Hellenic, that it is necessary to quote from so great an authority as Professor Ernst Curtius, in order to vindicate its connection with all that was most Hellenic in Greek thought and civilisation. Pythagoras and the Orphici, in fact, did

Pythagoras and his society, equally opposed, as was Apollo himself, to aristocratic stagnation, democratic destructiveness, and plutocratic corruption, were, from the mere *prestige* of their virtue and wisdom, practically entrusted with the supreme direction of public affairs at Croton and many other Greek cities of Lower Italy, which had not yet succumbed to the democratic influence radiating from Sybaris. But 'the Crotoniate youth,' writes E. Curtius,¹ 'inspired by his ideas, were too sharply and 'immediately opposed, like a spiritual aristocracy, to the 'rest of the citizens. For though the rights of the latter 'remained untouched, yet they could not suffer a small 'group, united by community of property and the same 'moral discipline, to desire to be, and actually to be, better 'than the rest. In the last years of the sixth century, years 'distinguished in very different localities by violent risings

as all the authors of emphatically Hellenic arts, sciences, and ideas : they built a new edifice out of old and already prepared materials, extracting as much as they could find suitable for their purpose from the ancient religions and civilisations of the East ; but if the Orphici, for instance, borrowed attributes from the Sabazius of Asia Minor for their Dionysus Zagreus, nothing could be more different in spirit than the cultus of these two divinities, the one orgiastic and the other ascetic ; and if the Pythagorean rule had profited by the acquaintance of its author with that of the priests of Isis, it has not much more claim to be styled Egyptian than has Doric architecture on account of the columns at Beni Hassan.

¹ *History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

‘of citizens, the Pythagoreans were subjected to the heavy
 ‘persecution which originated among the furious inhabi-
 ‘tants of Croton, under the leadership of Cylon, and for a
 ‘long time covered the whole of Lower Italy with the
 ‘ravages of civil war. True, the precious germs implanted
 ‘by the teaching of Pythagoras were not wholly lost even
 ‘in Italy. Even over luxurious Tarentum, a man of this
 ‘school, Archytas, as late as the 100th Olympiad, was able
 ‘to rule by Pythagorean civic virtue. The Apolline music
 ‘and mathematical arts, a wise rule of life of which self-
 ‘command was the basis, and a thorough and harmonious
 ‘culture of the gifts of the body and mind the purpose,
 ‘made him the model of a genuine Hellene in the midst of
 ‘a degenerate people. By the force of his personality he
 ‘once more succeeded in surrounding with honour and
 ‘authority those principles of which the origin is to be
 ‘sought at Delphi.’

Fortunately in Greece proper the progress of democracy was much slower,¹ so that the classes of society

¹ ‘In the colonies no second Delphi arose, and the pious reverence for the ancient mother-sanctuary was extinguished by the reckless love of innovation characterising the cities beyond the sea.’ . . . ‘This offers an additional explanation of the fact, that notwithstanding the brilliant advance of Greek culture in the Eastern and Western colonies, and notwithstanding the arrogance with which the colonies looked upon the mother-country (not unlike the colonies on the other side of the Atlantic and their views

which came most under the influence of Delphi were able to keep in power, if not *de jure* as in the Peloponnesus, at least *de facto* as at Athens, until the age of Pericles, until the time when most of the arts which contribute so much to leave a lasting testimony of a nation's culture had vanquished the material difficulties which so often delay their technical maturity until the day has gone by when they can be turned to the best account. The contemporaries of Pericles indeed witnessed the apogee of Greek architecture in the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, of Greek sculpture in the works of Phidias, and of Greek poetry in the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles, and it must be

'of "old Europe"), yet the central land came to be Hellas proper, 'the real theatre of Hellenic history, and the most lasting home of 'Hellenic culture. The rupture with the ancient institutions, the 'contempt of old-world tradition, and a reckless movement ahead, 'might hasten the development of these cities, but could offer no 'pledge of enduring culture and liberty. The rapid advance was 'followed by as precipitate a decay, even as a too luxuriant youth is 'generally succeeded by a premature old age. How brief was the 'succession of generations in which the vitality of the most flourishing 'colonies exhausted itself! How feeble was their strength to resist 'the assaults of the barbarians! On the other hand, the states of 'Central Hellas, under the beneficent discipline of the Pythian 'Apollo, or by a spontaneous adoption of the rules of life which had 'issued from him, obtained those firm foundations on which they 'were able victoriously to overcome the internal party conflicts, 'which no Greek commonwealth was spared, and the attacks on 'their independence from without.'—E. Curtius, *History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

attributed either to difficulties encountered by the science of preparing colours or to the fact that tapestry and sculpture were more in request for the decoration of temples, that Painting did not reach the maturity of its technical excellence before Apelles, until an age when the extraordinary gifts of that great master could find no employment that would suit the taste of his patrons better than the representation of a courtesan bathing,¹ the portrait of an infatuated youth trying to pass himself off as a god,² or lifeless allegories such as the *Calumny*; so it is not surprising that the decline of the art was as rapid after the death of Apelles as it was again after that of Raphael.

Nor is it fair to connect the apogee of the Hellenic race and its culture particularly with the generation of Pericles, for it must be remembered that the real apogee of a race or nation is rather in the age which forms its greatest men than in that which abuses the fruit of their labours, so that, as *le Siècle de Louis XIV.* would be more justly called *le Siècle de Louis XIII.*,³ the age of Pericles would be more justly called that of Aristides; and in spite of the parade which the Athenians were enabled to

¹ The *Aphrodite anadyomene*, or rather the representation of Phryne in that character.

² The *Alexander tonans*.

³ Vide *L'Organisation du Travail*, by F. Le Play.

make in their fair city in consequence of the draining thither of so much intellect and wealth from the rest of the Greek world,¹ and of the general increase of commercial and industrial prosperity, the decline of the most noble qualities of the Hellenic race had already set in when Pericles carried those laws which were designed to give the fatal blow to the practical preponderance of the upper classes of society in the administration of the city.

Fortunately indeed for Athens, the Delphic system of education had disseminated so much refinement among all classes of her citizens that never was there a state less unfitted for democratic institutions, and the *prestige*, which the high-born and lofty-minded Pericles owed to his eloquence and statesmanship was such, that his authority, at least in all artistic matters, was rarely opposed ; but one can see from the Comedies of Aristophanes and the Dialogues of Plato how disastrous even in his days was the substitution of Athens for Delphi as the intellectual and artistic centre of the Greek world.

¹ Everything is being done at the present moment to drain all the intellect and wealth of Germany to Berlin, but such a concentration in one town does not always constitute the apogee of a large country, and it is very much to be doubted that Germany will owe to Berlin such a magnificent epoch as that when Goethe flourished at Weimar and Kant at Königsberg, and when every little town, that was the seat of a court, a university, or even a chapter, was such a thriving centre of intellectual and æsthetic culture.

It was in fact to Delphi that the Hellenic race owed, not only its unity¹ and the spiritualisation of its religion, but the organisation and direction of the most perfect system of colonisation that has ever been carried out and that extended Hellas to the Don on the one side and to the Ebro on the other, the endowment of Greece with free roads, a scientifically corrected calendar, a perfected alphabet, uniformity of coinage, annals, and accurate geographical knowledge of foreign countries, the conversion of the four great Games into Panhellenic institutions, the development of one of the most perfect systems of liberal education, almost everything that was most equitable in the legislations and that tended most to the public weal in the constitutions of Hellenic cities,² and

¹ 'Hellas owed to its religion not merely its whole intellectual development, but also its national union, so far as such a union was attained at all; the oracles and festivals of the gods, Delphi and Olympia, and the Muses, daughters of Faith, were the centres round which revolved all that was great in Hellenic life and all in it that was the common heritage of the nation.'—Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. Dickson.

² It was particularly from about the era of the Olympiads to at least the middle of the 5th century B.C., that the constitutional reforms and other legislative enactments of Hellenic cities were either dictated or at least ratified by the Pythia, and that the Delphic priesthood formed practically a sort of high federal court of justice, as the Roman curia in the Middle Ages. Hence the gradual elimination of so much that was inequitable in the old common law of

above all the development of Hellenic civilisation in such a manner that the very appropriation of foreign elements

Greece, such as, for instance, the absolute power of a father over his children and of a husband over his wife.

‘Officers are appointed as representatives of the oracle in all states connected with Delphi; among these the Pythii in Sparta, the tent-fellows of the kings, the Exegetæ of sacred law at Athens nominated by the Pythia, the colleges of Theori in Ægina, Mantinea, Troezen, and other civic communities. They unwearyingly exhort to obedience to the divine law, which is inviolable; they animadvert upon every falling-off from the common Hellenic ordinances, and provide for the execution of the commands issued at Delphi. For the Pythia not only exercises a superintendence and guardianship, but also puts forth edicts and demands. She demands, *e.g.*, that those polluted by guilt shall be expelled from the civic communities; she requires a military levy in order to protect herself against her foes and to punish the overthrow of a constitution approved by her. She commands civil strife to cease, and mediates in party and border-feuds; she directs one state to seek or aid from the other, as, *e.g.*, Sparta from Athens in the second Messenian war; she settles the international relations of the single states, as when she bids the Mantineans transport the remains of Arcas from Mænalia into their city, and thus assume the authority of a capital of Arcadia. Finally, she brings order into the constitutions of the single states, or reserves for herself the right of ratifying all new constitutions. Even Clisthenes recognised this right with reference to his new civic tribes.’—E. Curtius, *History of Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

‘Le trépid d’Apollon était comme le Vatican de l’antiquité, et ses oracles acceptés avec autant de respect que les bulles papales, au moyen âge. Les théores arrivaient à Delphes, de tous les points de la Grèce. On s’empressait d’aller consulter le dieu sur toutes les questions qui pouvaient intéresser le bonheur et la pros-

was made to contribute to the emancipation of Hellas from foreign influence and to accentuate the national characteristics.¹

‘périté des Etats. On lui demandait la sanction des lois nouvelles, ainsi que le firent Lycurgue et Solon. Toute innovation dans le culte devait être réglée par la Pythie.’ . . . ‘Lorsque des guerres étaient près d’éclater, on interrogeait encore le dieu de Delphes, pour savoir de quel côté était le droit, par quel moyen on pouvait se rendre le ciel propice et s’assurer la victoire. On avait aussi recours à ces consultations, avant d’envoyer des colonies ou de fonder des villes. Lorsque l’Italie commença à subir l’influence religieuse de la Grèce, cet oracle y obtint le même crédit, et sa renommée se répandit dans toutes les contrées du monde antique, en sorte que Cicéron a pu l’appeler *oraculum orbis*.’—
A. Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique*.

¹ ‘We have thus been enabled to recognise the influence of the priestly institutions, and, above all, that issuing from Delphi, in the maintenance of a common nationality, in the regulation of the Hellenic religious worship, in the systems of festivals and of chronology, in the development and deepening of the moral consciousness of the nation, in the conduct of colonisation, and in the advance of a many-sided mental culture. There only remains that side of spiritual life on which the peculiarities of Hellenism earliest and most deeply impressed themselves: the field of art.’ . . .
‘The action of Delphi as a spiritual centre in all arts to which its influence reached tended to produce this effect, that, as they were animated by *one* spirit, so they now united for a common purpose. And it must be remembered that one chief peculiarity of Greek artistic life consists in this, that the different branches of art, instead of moving along by the side of one another, are engaged in a living co-operation. The service of the temple comprehends the whole variety of these efforts. In honour of the same god the

It is true that Athens, when still under Delphic influence, redeemed nobly the opportunity of giving some finishing touches to Hellenic culture and art, which Delphi herself had wanted time to give ; but it is not to be supposed that the decline of the former, as a political, intellectual and artistic centre, was the result of her having been outstripped by any other city, as a master might be by his disciple ; for even in political matters the tendencies of the Pythian Apollo were at least as progressive as they were conservative. The decline of the sacred city resulted partly from the anti-religious spirit of democracy,

‘ columns rise to bear the tablature of marble, the courts as well as
 ‘ the pediments and metopes of the temple are filled with statuary,
 ‘ and the inner walls of the temples are adorned with woven tapes-
 ‘ try, the place of which is afterwards taken by the art of painting.
 ‘ The same divine glory is served by the hymn and the song of vic-
 ‘ tory, by music and the dance. Therefore the Greeks conceived
 ‘ the Muses as a choir, and were unable to represent to themselves
 ‘ the single goddesses as individuals separated from the rest of this
 ‘ assembly ; and in Apollo they saw the leader of this choir of the
 ‘ Muses. It was no poetic metaphor for the Greeks, but a religious
 ‘ belief, which they displayed in a grand group of statuary in the
 ‘ front of the temple at Delphi. And thus the Delphic Apollo
 ‘ really stands in the centre of all the higher tendencies of scientific
 ‘ inquiry and artistic efforts as the guiding genius of spiritual life,
 ‘ which he, surrounded by the chosen heads of the nation, conducts
 ‘ to a grand and clear expression of its totality, by this means found-
 ‘ ing an ideal unity of the Greek people.’—E. Curtius, *History of
 ‘ Greece*, translated by A. W. Ward.

and partly from the smallness of her territory, which made her so insignificant as a temporal power. Having no army of her own to protect her sanctuary and its treasures from the brigand populations of Phocis, the day came when, her trusty and hitherto disinterested friend Sparta being too embarrassed to send forces out of the Peloponnesus, in a weak and ill-starred moment she allowed herself to accept the alliance of a potentate, who had incurred the censures of the Oracle, and who was at the head of a formidable league against the Spartans. It is consequently not surprising that Delphi had to acquire the same bitter experience as Rome when the Pontiffs had called in the assistance of the German Emperors to protect them from equally troublesome neighbours. The 'First Sacred War,' undertaken by Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, against the sacrilegious Crissæans, ended indeed in the destruction of the guilty city and the consecration of its spoils to the foundation on a magnificent scale of the Pythian Games ; but from that day Delphi wore a gilded chain, and, although she had still an opportunity of recovering her spiritual freedom when Sparta had upset the Peloponnesian tyrants, and, about the middle of the sixth century B.C., seemed to be at the zenith of her glory, her priests were too demoralised by their first step in a wrong direction to accept again the perilous and troublesome conditions of independence.

And woe, for ever woe, is it to a spiritual power that puts trust in princes and consents to incur obligation towards any but real and attached friends ! In no case is the '*descensus Averni*' more easy. In the course of the same century Delphi allowed the ambitious and unscrupulous Alcmaeonide family to build her magnificent new temple of Parian marble, and, a little later, she was intimidated by the wild Cleomenes of Sparta, so it is not astonishing that sinister rumours got about of untrustworthiness on the part of the Pythia, all the more shocking to the Greeks that such sacrilege had never been suspected before. As ill luck would have it too, these suspicions were particularly rife, after the deposition of Demaratus through the machinations of Cleomenes, just about the time of the Persian invasions; and the consequence was, that Delphi, conscious of being mistrusted, proved too irresolute at the critical moment to take the lead in uniting the states of Greece against the common foe, while this part was so gloriously performed by Athens, that the *prestige* thus acquired by the city of the virgin goddess, a *prestige* which she knew so well how to turn to account, was such, that from the formation of the Confederation of Delos by Aristides nothing was esteemed in the Greek world that had not been approved by the victors of Marathon and Mycale.

But if Athens did not prove in the first years of her greatness unworthy of the glorious position to which she had been called by the brilliant qualities of her citizens no less than by the force of circumstances, it was not long before she began to profane and deform the magnificent edifice of Hellenic civilisation and culture, which Delphi had constructed ; for to Athens Greece owed the dissemination of a political system, which consisted of mob-rule, tempered only by sensational oratory,¹ the

¹ 'The place of popular orator was open to all, and the popular orator of a democracy is for the time its lord and master. To become a Pericles, a Cleon, or an Alcibiades, with the mob of Athens and the treasury of its allies at their command, and all the dreams of power, which Athens cherished, capable of realisation for the aggrandisement of its leaders, was within the reach of every citizen. One thing only was wanting—Oratory.' . . . Living, as we do at this day, with security for the permanence of moral principles in the permanence of the Church, and amidst at least the forms of old established laws, we can scarcely realise to ourselves the frightful vortex of things and opinions which involved the young men of Athens. The council ruled by the will of a mob, the assembly swayed by every breath of passion, as the revengeful or the ludicrous prevailed—its orators boldly casting off every restraint upon human will, and not a voice that dared to wrestle with the popular frenzy, except by appealing to their interest—the courts of justice loosed from the restrictions of statutes, and banishing or pardoning, fining, and poisoning, at the will of the moment—no private property safe for a day from the extortions of the public—sycophants and informers on all sides ready to seize on the most innocent, unless bribed to give them a

substitution of the Sophists' system of education¹ for that which had grown out of the gymnasium, the prosti-

'respite—the favourite of the day becoming the exile of to-morrow—
'men rising suddenly from the dregs of the people to the lordship
'of the Athenian empire—generals who were sent out to protect
'allies, returning enriched with their plunder—the population of
'whole cities swept away by the hand of the public executioner.'—
W. Sewell, *Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato*. No wonder
that Plato should have exclaimed: 'There is not, and never has
'been, and never will be in the midst of such an education a mind
'that can be raised to virtue—except it be more than human. Be
'assured, that if a single soul in the present constitution of our
'states be saved, and become what it should be, it must be by a
'miracle from God.'—*Laws*, quoted *ibid*.

¹ 'The Sophists of London are very anxious to raise up a tribe
'of Sophists in Oxford and Cambridge. They wish to revive the
'character in many essential features of the Athenian rhetorician.
'Precisely the same principles, which have resuscitated a genuine
'sophistical school among ourselves, a school of sensualism in philo-
'sophy, of expediency in morals, of scepticism in reason, and of
'rationalism in religion, have suggested also the resuscitation of the
'same mode of instruction, and the same external scholastic forms
'as prevailed among the original sophists at Athens.' . . .
'The consequences were such as might be expected. Take away
'truth from the mind of man, and external law from his conscience,
'and abandon him in the midst of temptation, and encouraged by
'the only persons he respects, to the opinion and passion of the
'hour, and we know what follows. Give then by a natural consti-
'tution extraordinary activity to his intellect, and violence to his
'passions, and you make a monster. And the picture drawn in the
'Clouds of the metamorphosis effected by a Sophist in the character
'of a young, high-spirited, thoughtless Athenian falls very little
'short of one. Instead of music, gymnastics, field-sports and re-

tution of all the fine arts, and even of the religion with which they were connected, to minister to the indulgence of religious ceremonies, his time was now occupied in captious quibbling, bad metaphysics, or bombastic rhetoric. His open-heartedness was changed into cunning—his simple affectionate feeling hardened into entire abandonment even of filial duty, and not rarely into parricide. Human nature was degraded to a level with the brute, and a system of morals founded on the analogy of their instincts. His unreflecting reverence for the gods was laid aside for atheism, or a theology which made the Divine Being himself susceptible of bribery, or an accomplice in his crimes. His obedience to the laws of his country was cast to the winds; and his country looked on only as a prize for the most crafty plotters, and society as a state of war, in which might was the only rule of right, and to become a tyrant the supreme happiness of man. The simple unsophisticated instincts of right and wrong were obliterated in the coarsest shamelessness. The very language of morals was confounded, till honesty was called folly, and goodness nature weakness, and cunning wisdom, and he was thought wisest and best who could impose most cleverly on others, whether by word or deed, by falsehood or assassination, by solemn promises, or still more solemn perjuries. Even the boon which nature showered so profusely on the Greek races, personal beauty and strength, was lost in the general ruin; and instead of the open walk, the manly figure, and countenance flushed with health and ingenuous modesty, the eye fell on every side upon paleness, emaciation, and effeminacy, and deformity, betraying the wreck of the mind within.

‘Those who are familiar with the comedies of Athens, its orators and its historians, will not accuse this sketch of any exaggeration. It is not a picture of what might follow, but of what had followed in the time of Plato. And upon this spectacle he was looking when he wrote his dialogues.’—W. Sewell, *Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato*.

of sensuality¹ and to the basest flattery of human conceit, and the development of a school of philosophy which culminated in Epicurus.

But when Delphi and her spiritual children lost their authority in the political world they had not yet said their last word, so that, even in a century marked by such iniquity in high places and general demoralisation as that of Alexander, the Apolline doctrines preached by Pythagoras were revived in a more perfected form by the greatest philosopher of antiquity.² It was, moreover, the Pythia who had been the first to proclaim his master, Socrates, the wisest of the Hellenes, thus investing him with the authority of an Apolline prophet for the noble

¹ Particularly noticeable in the statuary of Praxiteles, who represented goddesses as courtesans, while Lysippus portrayed the most notoriously sinful mortals as gods. Lysippus was indeed at the head of a school at Sicyon, but, as Beulé has well shown in *Fouilles et Découvertes*, his manner, like that of all the sculptors of his day, was quite Attic.

² The ethics of the Stoics also were in the main an inheritance from Delphi, to which they gave the finishing touches, but which admitted of little further development at their hands, so that as moralists the Platonists and the Stoics were rarely at issue. What the latter did not derive from Delphic theology was their ill-constructed metaphysical system and the narrow-mindedness which estranged so many of them from the religion of their ancestors. They seem moreover in general to have taken as little account of what they owed to Delphi, as many free-thinking moralists at the present day of their indebtedness to the ethical dogmas of Christianity.

work, for which he lived and died, and in which he was followed so earnestly by Plato, especially after the latter's initiation into the esoteric doctrines of the Pythagoreans in Magna Græcia and Sicily, the work, namely, of saving, developing, and spiritualising the popular religions of Greece.¹

¹ 'Socrate admettait les formes du culte hellénique, se bornant à inspirer à ceux qui le pratiquaient des sentiments plus purs et plus élevés. Tel est aussi le but que poursuit Platon. Il n'innove pas, il ne fait que prêcher une observation plus stricte et plus sincère des rites adoptés par les âges antérieurs. Il condamne même les nouveautés et respecte ce qui a été réglé par les oracles. "Dès qu'il y a eu, écrit-il, des sacrifices institués avec des cérémonies, soit que ces cérémonies aient pris naissance dans le pays, soit qu'on les ait empruntées des Tyrrhéniens, de Cypre ou de quelque autre endroit, et que sur ces traditions on ait consacré des oracles, érigé des statues, des autels, des temples, et planté des bois sacrés, il n'est plus permis au législateur d'y toucher en aucune façon (*Leg.* v. 9). Il faut honorer ces images, puisque ce culte nous attire la faveur des dieux (*Leg.* xi. 11)." Mais il ajoute qu'on doit se garder d'en user avec les sacrifices comme on en use avec de l'argent, et ne point s'imaginer que l'on achète la faveur des dieux, qu'il est possible de fléchir ou détourner leur colère par des victimes, des prières ou des offrandes. Autrement on pourrait être injuste, et, du prix de ses injustices, acheter l'impunité (*De Republ.* ii. 8). . . . "On doit éviter de demander aux dieux des choses mauvaises et coupables. Aussi faut-il que les poètes soient bien instruits des choses qu'il est permis de réclamer d'eux, afin qu'ils ne nous enseignent pas des prières et des chants qui iraient directement contre leur objet" (*Leg.* vii. 9).' . . . 'Platon entre dans des détails de liturgie qui annoncent le désir de donner à

Plato's teaching indeed could only be accepted in such a degenerate age by a select few, and the scepticism

'l'adoration des dieux une forme plus uniforme et plus régulière. Il veut que chaque classe de citoyens ait sa divinité, son démon et son héros particulier (*Leg. v. 9.*)' . . . 'Platon règle aussi les fêtes et les jours de sacrifices. Mais il s'en réfère, avant tout, aux prescriptions de l'oracle de Delphes (*Leg. viii. 1.*). Il veut que chaque jour de l'année, ait lieu un sacrifice spécial offert à quelque dieu ou à quelque démon, pour l'Etat, ses habitants et tout ce qu'ils possèdent (*Leg. viii. 1.*). Il institue ainsi une sorte de calendrier liturgique qui rappelle, à certains égards, celui de l'Eglise catholique. Il veut qu'on détermine les hymnes et les danses dont chaque sacrifice sera accompagné (*Leg. vii. 10 ; xi. 7.*). Il entend que des mesures sévères soient prises pour que rien ne trouble l'ordre de ces solennités, n'en attriste la célébration et n'en modifie plus les règles (*Leg. xi. 9.*).—A. Maury, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique.*

'In the personal character of Plato's thoughts, with all his necessary rationalism, there is a constant vein of trustful feeling running throughout—a willingness to receive truth for granted when coming from competent authority—a tendency to cast himself for support upon the guidance, testimony, and control of others, looking to their moral superiority as the fit guarantee, rather than to the assent of his own individual reason. It is seen in his constant allusion to those old traditionary streams of ancient revelation, the *παλαιοὶ λόγοι* of his ancestors; in his fond and reverential returns to the mysteries and myths of the East; in the stern and authoritative tone, with which he supports the dictates of the laws of his country, whether Socrates is commanded by them to die, or an hereditary mythology enforced. If a ceremonial of religion is to be established, it is referred to the oracles of his ancestors.' . . . 'But the noblest and most decisive passage is found in the tenth book of the Laws. "How," says he, when

of the time invaded before long even the Academy ; but, after the Roman conquest, and the overthrow of democracy in the cities of Greece and her colonies which had not been destroyed, a strong religious revival began in the reign of Augustus about the same time as the

‘about to enter on the argument of natural theology, (and it might
 ‘be well for those who are giving undue weight to that theology to
 ‘see where Plato laid the real foundation of belief)—“how without
 ‘passion can we reason to prove the existence of God ? It must be
 ‘with bitterness of heart—with hatred and indignation against men,
 ‘who compel us to engage in such an argument. They who once
 ‘trusted to the tales, which from their childhood, when lying on
 ‘the breast, they used to hear from their nurses and their mothers
 ‘—tales told to soothe or awe them, and repeated like charms above
 ‘their cradles—who heard them blended at the altar with prayers,
 ‘and all the pomps and rituals so fair to the eye of a child;—while
 ‘those same parents were offering up their sacrifices with all
 ‘solemnity—earnestly and awfully praying for themselves and for
 ‘their children, and with vows and supplications holding com-
 ‘munion with God, as indeed a living God ;—who, when the sun
 ‘and the moon arose, and passed again to their settings, heard of,
 ‘and witnessed all around them the kneeling and prostrate forms of
 ‘Greeks and barbarians alike—all men in all their joys and all their
 ‘sorrows, clinging as it were to God, not as an empty name, but as
 ‘their all in all; and never suffering the fancy to intrude, that God
 ‘has no existence;—they who have despised all this—and without
 ‘one justifying cause compel us now to reason as we do—how can
 ‘such men expect, that with calm and gentle words we should be
 ‘able to admonish and to teach them the existence of a God ?”
 ‘Such is the decision of Plato on the fundamental question in the
 ‘education of man, the use and importance of authority.’—W.
 Sewell, *Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato*.

revival of Platonism by Philo, and, both in Greece and in Italy, it was particularly connected with the cultus of Apollo. It is extremely probable that the beautiful statue of the Belvedere is a monument of the religion of this period, when, after a commission had been sent by the Roman government to search in all countries for Sibylline oracles,¹ Apollo Palatinus was installed as, next to Jupiter Capitolinus, the tutelary divinity of Rome.²

¹ Many Sibylline verses of this collection expressed clearly Monotheistic doctrines and Messianic prophecies, which, in spite of Virgil's *Pollio*, have of course been set down by a shallow criticism as Christian forgeries of a much later period. This opinion has at any rate not been endorsed by Preller, perhaps the greatest among recent authorities on the religions of Greece and Italy. Vide *Les Dieux de l'ancienne Rome*, p. 201. That Messianic expectations and prophecy were confined to the Jewish church is an opinion which can certainly not be reasonably held by those who accept Job and Balaam as Messianic prophets, and who discern in the three offerings of the *μάγοι* the testimony of their recognition of the infant Saviour as Priest or Messiah, as King, and as God. In the Sixtine Chapel of the Vatican, the Sibyls, including the 'Sibylla Delphica,' are represented in company with the Jewish Prophets.

² 'Sous Auguste, le culte d'Apollon prend un nouvel essor. Ce prince avait pour ce dieu une prédilection toute personnelle, qui reposait peut-être sur des traditions domestiques, et qui trouva d'autant plus d'écho que le rôle d'Auguste semblait attirer à plus d'un titre la faveur du dieu. Jeune et beau, il avait rétabli l'ordre et la paix; c'était sous les yeux de l'Apollon d'Actium qu'il avait remporté la victoire, d'où était sortie la monarchie.' . . .

Nor could Delphi, the integrity and independence of whose sacred territory had been guaranteed by the Roman government, fail to share in the glory of her victorious sun-god, and in an age characterised by so much religious fermentation, and by such insatiable longings, both healthy and morbid, for intercourse with the

‘Ajoutez à tout cela les cultes, les temples, les jeux nouveaux fondés en l’honneur de l’Apollon d’Actium, et la fondation d’un culte en l’honneur de l’Apollon Palatin. Déjà, avant la bataille d’Actium, à l’occasion d’un éclair qui avait frappé le palais du Palatin, Auguste avait voué un temple à Apollon, et ce temple, après les brillants succès du vainqueur, fut construit avec un luxe incroyable et embelli par toutes les ressources de l’art contemporain. A partir de 12 av. J.C., quand le pontificat eut été confié à Auguste, les livres sibyllins, au lieu d’être gardés dans le Capitole, le furent dans le temple d’Apollon Palatin; Auguste avait fait faire de ce recueil une édition plus authentique. Ce changement entraîna un autre : les quindecimvirs devinrent désormais les serviteurs d’Apollon Palatin. Ce dieu réunissait tous les attributs des Apollon qui l’avaient précédé; cependant l’élément qui dominait chez lui, c’était celui de dieu sauveur. C’est à ce dieu-là qu’Auguste accorde des fêtes et des honneurs dans la nouvelle organisation des jeux séculaires. Ces jeux ne s’étaient célébrés jusque-là qu’en honneur des dieux du monde souterrain; Auguste associa à ce culte celui de Jupiter Capitolin et d’Apollon Palatin, sans doute parce que ces dieux sont, parmi les divinités du ciel, celles qui personnifient le mieux les idées de salut, d’expiation; c’est du moins ce que Horace semble indiquer dans le *carmen sæculare* qui fut composé à l’occasion de cette fête, pour y être débité dans le temple même d’Apollon Palatin.’—L. Preller, *Les Dieux de l’ancienne Rome*, traduction de Dietz.

invisible world, it can hardly be doubted that the priestly city would have at least made an effort to redeem so favourable an opportunity of recovering the authority of her oracle, if, according to a popular but superficial hypothesis,¹ it had never been anything more than a clever piece of trickery. But nothing of the kind took place, for the simple reason, that, as we are informed by an illustrious and pious heathen writer,² all the great oracles known to the Greeks and Romans were at this time supernaturally silenced. The work of Delphi was accomplished, and the Pythian Apollo was destined to fade, as a candle-light in the daylight of which it is the symbol, when the 'Sun of Righteousness,'³ no longer in

¹ The credulity of men in accepting evidence has become such a worn-out theme that it is a pity, so little notice has been taken of their credulity in accepting explanations.

'We shall not see,' writes Carlyle, 'into the true heart of anything, if we look merely at the quackeries of it.' . . . 'Quackery and dupery do abound; in religions, above all in the more advanced decaying stages of religions, they have fearfully abounded: but quackery was never the originating influence in such things, but their disease, the sure precursor of their being about to die! Let us never forget this. It seems to me a most mournful hypothesis, that of quackery giving birth to any faith even in savage men. Quackery gives birth to nothing; gives death to all things.'—*On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*.

² Plutarch, *De Defectu Oraculorum*.

³ *Mal.* iv. 2.

type, arose with healing in His wings for both Jew and Gentile.

d. At Rome, the first trace of anything like a clerical order is to be found in the legislation attributed to Numa, one of the very few high-priest kings of early times, who, like Melchisedek, have been represented by tradition as taking their sacerdotal office really in earnest.

Among the institutions of the pious Sabine, the college of Vestals deserves particular notice, as testifying to perhaps the earliest recognition in Europe of the beauty and value of a life wholly consecrated to the service of religion. The priestesses of the virgin goddess were, in fact, subjected to a very severe training and discipline, and they were in consequence the objects of a deep and enthusiastic veneration on the part of all classes of the Roman people,¹ who felt instinctively that

¹ 'Une grande simplicité, une grande propreté, une grande pureté, voilà les points d'ôminants du culte de Vesta: de là viennent les nombreuses purifications qu'on y faisait; de là aussi les lois toutes particulières auxquelles étaient soumises les Vestales, chargées d'entretenir le feu sacré et de puiser l'eau nécessaire au service du temple. C'est encore au roi Numa qu'on attribue généralement l'établissement de ces Vestales.' . . . 'Choisies par le Pontife Maxime, dans les meilleures et les plus irréprochables familles de la ville, avec leurs deux parents en vie, elles restaient sous la surveillance immédiate du Pontife, qui présidait, en

in the example they set of a purely unselfish life, at the hearth of the city, lay the surest foundation of its safety and prosperity.

But of no less consequence was the institution of the colleges of Pontiffs and Augurs, who, if not subjected to a sufficiently severe discipline, were at least expected to spend much of their time in the study of sacred things, and were not appointed by the State, as the colleges had the right of filling up their own vacancies by co-optation. In the course of time, this clergy, small as it was in number, acquired great influence; but it is easy to see that the original constitution of the Roman religion was essentially patriarchal, and that, although many heads of

‘général, à tout le culte de Vesta. Elles étaient prises âgées de six
 ‘à dix ans, et s’engageaient à un service de trente années. Sur ces
 ‘trente années, elles en passaient dix dans le noviciat, dix autres à
 ‘s’occuper directement du culte et le dernier tiers à instruire les
 ‘novices. Leur existence s’écoulait ainsi, au milieu de grands
 ‘honneurs, mais aussi sous des charges fort rigoureuses. Il leur
 ‘fallait jour et nuit garder le feu sacré, éviter toute souillure, rejeter
 ‘toute idée de bonheur domestique, car elles ne se mariaient guère,
 ‘une fois leur service expiré. Il est vrai qu’elles jouissaient de
 ‘mille distinctions flatteuses, que le peuple avait pour elles un re-
 ‘spect sans bornes; que, dans la rue, les magistrats les plus impor-
 ‘tants leur cédaient le pas; que leur seule rencontre sauvait un con-
 ‘damné qu’on menait au supplice; que leurs prières étaient pour
 ‘tous les accusés le plus solide appui.”—L. Preller, *Les Dieux de l’ancienne Rome*, traduction de Dietz.

families had abdicated their exclusive right of filling the priesthoods of divinities who from gentile had become civic,¹ the citizens still assumed to exercise collectively the religious authority which they had hitherto exercised individually,² so that, although it came practically to

¹ Certain priesthoods, however, at Rome, even of divinities who had an important place in the pantheon of the city, continued in the hands of the families which had founded them ; but to be qualified to sacrifice in the name of the state every gentile priest had to be inaugurated by the Pontifex Maximus ; as in England a priest who is presented to a living by the representative in law of its founder has to be ordained and inducted by the Bishop. The Potitia and Pinaria families, for instance, remained in possession of the two priesthoods of the god Semo Sancus, or Dius Fidius, who had taken the attributes and names of the Greek Hercules, and it was not before the censorship of Appius Claudius Cœcus, in 312 B.C., that the rights of the Potitii were purchased by the state. This resignation however was regarded as so displeasing to the god that it is said, that all the males of the family perished within the year, and that the great Censor was himself struck with the blindness which suggested his cognomen. It was the same in Greece, where, for instance, the Butadæ remained in possession of the priesthood of the Athena, tutelary divinity of Athens, and the Ægidæ, of Apollo Carneus at Sparta.

² It was probably because the city founded on the Palatine hill was a colony and did not grow up by degrees on the spot from the gradual confederation of single clans, that, apparently from the date of its foundation, it was the Comitia Curiata, or assembly of all the citizens, and not the Senate, originally the assembly of the chiefs of clans, which was officially in possession of religious authority. The Senate, of which the primitive constitution seems to have been already slightly modified under the Tarquinian dynasty, was con-

pass into the hands of the colleges founded by Numa, the earlier prerogative was never quite lost sight of. No act, for instance, of the Pontiffs (such as the *inauguratio* or the *exauguratio* of a priest, the publication of the calendar for the month and of its *dies fasti* and *nefasti*, the declaration of a new religious obligation or prohibition, or the sacerdotal sanction of a *testamenti factio*, a *detestatio sacrorum*, &c.) had any official value unless enacted in the presence of the Patricians assembled in *comitiis calatis*, and their silence was at least supposed to signify assent. The right, too, of consulting the will of the gods in the name of the state was never acquired by the college of Augurs. It was the King or, under the Republic, the Curule magistrates, who alone consulted officially the heavenly signs, and the Consul, Prætor or

verted into an assembly of life-members in the first years of the Republic, the first batch of *conscripti* (i.e. Senators who, although Patricians, were not *patres* or chiefs) being admitted almost immediately after the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, in order to secure the adhesion of the younger branches of the Patrician families to the new constitution. The word *pater* ended even by losing its original political signification, so that it came to be applied to all Patricians, probably owing to the passing of gentile lands from collective to individual ownership. On the original constitution of the Roman Senate, vide *La Cité antique*, by Fustel de Coulanges. At Athens too an assembly of life-members, that of the Areopagus, was created by Solon, when the old *βουλή* of hereditary chiefs was abolished.

Dictator only acquired this important prerogative of the *spectio* during his term of office, because he had received the *auspicia* from the Comitia Curiata, or assembly of Patricians ;¹ the Augur being only called in to give his

¹ 'Though all the patricians were eligible for taking the auspices, 'yet it was only the magistrates who were in actual possession of 'them. As long as there were any patrician magistrates, the 'auspices were exclusively in their hands; on their entrance upon 'office, they received the auspices (*accipiebant auspicia*, Cic. *de Div.* ii. 36); while their office lasted, they were in possession of them '*(habebant or erant eorum auspicia*, Gell. xiii. 15); and at the expi- 'ration of their office, they laid them down (*ponebant or deponebant 'auspicia*, Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 3). In case, however, there was 'no patrician magistrate, the auspices became vested in the whole 'body of the patricians, which was expressed by the words *auspicia 'ad patres redeunt* (Cic. *Brut.* 5). This happened in the kingly 'period on the demise of a king, and the patricians then chose an 'interrex, who was therefore invested by them with the right of 'taking the auspices, and was thus enabled to mediate between the 'gods and the state in the election of a new king. In like manner 'in the republican period, when it was believed that there had been 'something faulty (*vitium*) in the auspices in the election of the 'consuls, and they were obliged in consequence to resign their office, 'the auspices returned to the whole body of the patricians, who had 'recourse to an *interregnum* for the renewal of the auspices, and for 'handing them over in a perfect state to the new magistrates : hence 'we find the expressions *repetere de integro auspicia* and *renovare per 'interregnum auspicia* (Liv. v. 17, 31, vi. 1). . . 'As the augurs 'were therefore merely the assistants of the magistrates, they could not 'take the auspices without the latter, though the magistrates on the 'contrary could dispense with their assistance, as must frequently 'have happened in the appointment of a dictator by the consul on

opinion on the interpretation of an augury, as a doctor of theology is called in by a council of Bishops, or a member of the College of Physicians by a court of justice in a case of lunacy or poisoning, not to pronounce but merely to suggest an official judgment.

But it is not to be supposed that the Patrician order had many of the characteristics of a clergy. The Patricians were merely the inhabitants of Rome and her territory who had most right to consider themselves the real citizens, being either the heirs of the first settlers, of the men who had *made* the city, or, as in the case of the Claudian family, of aftercomers whom the original citizens had from motives of generosity or policy chosen to admit into their body. It was only by the side of their clients and of the Plebeians that the Patricians had the appearance of a sacerdotal caste; but the origin of such a pretension was not very mysterious. When a city was founded in old times, it was usually the work of a

‘military expeditions at a distance from the city. At the same time ‘it must be borne in mind, that as the augurs were the interpreters ‘of the science, they possessed the right of declaring whether the ‘auspices were valid or invalid, and that too whether they were ‘present or not at the time of taking them; and whoever questioned ‘their decision was liable to severe punishment (Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 8). ‘They thus possessed in reality a veto upon every important public ‘transaction.’—Article *Augur* in Smith’s *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

small number of capitalists, much as a railway is at the present day, with this difference, that, before the existence of coined money, the capital most valuable for the former purpose consisted either in slaves or in the patronage of clients, and, although the latter did not in general barter away entirely their personal liberty in exchange for protection or sustenance, they were no more admitted to join in the work as citizens, that is as shareholders, of the new city than are the earth-workers, the engine-drivers, or even the chief inspectors, employed by a modern railway company, entitled, as such, to vote at the shareholders' meeting.¹ At the time, however, when people first began to be penetrated with a tolerably clear notion of a providential government of the lower world, they did not need to be very much under the empire of religion to perceive that something more was required, or at least advantageous, for the prosperity of a city besides stout walls or plenty of workmen and soldiers, and that was the good-will of the invisible

¹ The East India Company is a notable instance in quite recent times of such a society founding, not a mere city, but a vast empire, of which the only citizens were, in A.D. 1858, the 1632 shareholders. Even the Governor-General of India was nominated by and only corresponded with the Board of Directors, and these were elected for four years by the shareholders.

powers;¹ so it was not unreasonably concluded that the greater was the proportion of citizens who enjoyed the favour of the gods, the more sources of prosperity there would be for the city.² It was consequently usual for the promoters of a new city or colony to require from all who offered to join as shareholders in the undertaking that they should show proof of belonging to a family in which there was a solidly established domestic cultus, and which, consequently, had been during several generations protected and favoured by invisible powers. It was, therefore, so repugnant to the ideas of the Patricians to purchase the military services of the Ple-

¹ *Conf. Psalm cxxvii.*—‘Except Jehovah build the house,’ etc. This psalm seems to have been written at the time of the return of the Jews from captivity under Zerubbabel, when great care was taken that no one should be admitted into the ‘Congregation of Jehovah,’ as citizens of Jerusalem, unless they could prove that, at least during the years of the captivity, the worship of Jehovah had been preserved undefiled in their family; whence the rejection of the Samaritans. The ‘Congregation of Jehovah,’ answering to the *Comitia Curiata* of Rome as the *Sanhedrin* answered to the Senate, comprised consequently only a small proportion of the inhabitants of Judæa, the rest being allowed to participate in religious privileges only on the footing of ‘proselytes,’ who either lived freely in the towns under the protection of the law but without political rights, as the *Plebeians* at Rome, or in the country as clients of wealthy Israelites (‘the stranger that sojourneth with you’). Vide *Numb. xv. 15.*

² *Conf. Gen. xviii. 26.*

beians by admitting them into their sacred city, simply because the latter were a class of people, who either could give no proof that their families had been for several generations under the protection of a divinity (which, according to the narrow ideas of the age, a Plebeian was unable to do, if he were an emancipated client, whose gods had not been his own, but those of his patron, or, again, had he been a vagrant without a hearth, such as the outlaws said to have been invited by Romulus to join the infant colony after its foundation by patricians of Alba Longa), or else had been expelled from the hearths of their fathers by the conquests of Rome, in which case it seemed evident that they had been deserted by their gods.¹

But this kind of sacredness, with which the Patricians honestly believed themselves to be endowed,² is

¹ It was, however, only after the Patricians had lost their political privileges that they ceased altogether to admit occasionally into their order settlers from conquered cities who could prove noble descent. The Luceres tribe (the *gentes minores*), for instance, was mostly formed from patricians of Alba Longa and other Latin cities, which had been destroyed by Rome. But, after the *Lex Ogulnia*, it was the policy of the old families to keep up by exclusiveness a *prestige* in society, which might otherwise have been wrecked by the loss of their prerogatives.

² 'On a dit que c'était une religion de politique. Mais pouvons-nous supposer qu'un sénat de trois cents membres, un corps de

rather a sign of the peculiar narrow form of the religious ideas of the time than of their depth and intensity; for the notion, common enough, that the less developed were religious ideas the greater was the empire they exercised over men's lives can hardly be borne out by history: how rarely, for instance, did the old religion of Rome, at the time when it was unhesitatingly believed in by every citizen, inspire genuine acts of self-sacrifice, such as the *devotio* of Decius Mus; whereas in many countries of contemporary Europe, where Christianity is practically the religion of only a minority of

‘trois mille patriciens se soit entendu avec une telle unanimité pour tromper le peuple ignorant? et cela pendant des siècles, sans que parmi tant de rivalités, de luttes, de haines personnelles, une seule voix se soit jamais élevée pour dire: Ceci est un mensonge. Si un patricien eût trahi les secrets de sa secte, si, s’adressant aux plébéiens qui supportaient impatiemment le joug de cette religion, il les eût tout à coup débarrassés et affranchis de ces auspices et de ces sacerdoces, cet homme eût acquis immédiatement un tel crédit qu’il fût devenu le maître de l’Etat. Croit-on que, si les patriciens n’eussent pas cru à la religion qu’ils pratiquaient, une telle tentation n’aurait pas été assez forte pour déterminer au moins un d’entre eux à révéler le secret? On se trompe gravement sur la nature humaine si l’on suppose qu’une religion puisse s’établir par convention et se soutenir par imposture. Que l’on compte dans Tite-Live combien de fois cette religion gênait les patriciens eux-mêmes, combien de fois elle embarrassa le sénat et entrava son action, et que l’on dise ensuite si cette religion avait été inventée pour la commodité des hommes d’Etat.’—Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*.

the population, the unflinching resolution of whole bands of departing missionaries to purchase the object of their labours with martyrdom is of such very frequent occurrence.

The religion of ancient Rome was, however, by no means unprogressive, but that, for which humanity is most beholden to it, was chiefly due to the activity of the colleges, especially the Pontiffs ;¹ for perhaps the most

¹ 'The five "bridge-builders" (*pontifices*) derived their name from their function, as sacred as it was politically important, of conducting the building and demolition of the bridge over the Tiber. They were the Roman engineers, who understood the mystery of measures and numbers ; whence there devolved upon them also the duties of managing the calendar of the state, of proclaiming to the people the time of new and full moon and the days of festivals, and of seeing that every religious and every judicial act took place on the right day. As they had thus an especial supervision of all religious observances, it was to them in case of need (as on occasion of marriage, testament, or *arrogatio*) that the preliminary question was addressed, whether the matter proposed did not in any respect offend against divine law ; and it was they that fixed and promulgated the general exoteric precepts of ritual, which were known under the name of the "royal laws." Thus they acquired (although not probably in its full extent till after the abolition of the monarchy) the general oversight of Roman worship and of whatever was connected with it—and what was there that was not so connected ? They themselves described the sum of their knowledge as "the science of things divine and human." In fact the rudiments of spiritual and temporal jurisprudence as well as of historical composition had their origin in the bosom of this

valuable inheritance that modern Europe has derived from ancient Rome is the body of civil law, which received its finishing touches in the reign of Justinian, but which was mainly the work of a much earlier age. In this matter, indeed, as in many others, the most deserving of gratitude have been generally forgotten, and the Prætors, who interpreted the *jus civile* and dictated the *jus gentium*, have had all the credit of elaborating a system so remarkable for its equity, in spite of the ‘*iniquitates juris*,’ as Gaius calls them, so conspicuous in the code of the XII. tables. As moreover the provisions most repugnant to modern ideas in the XII. tables (the foundation of the *jus civile*) were borrowed from the

‘college. For the writing of history was associated with the calendar and the book of annals; and as, according to the organisation of the Roman courts of law, no tradition could originate in these courts themselves, it was necessary that the knowledge of legal principles and procedure should be traditionally preserved in the college of the pontifices, which alone was competent to give an opinion respecting court-days and questions of religious law.’ —Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. Dickson.

Mommsen, however, admits in a note that, the word *pons* having originally signified a *way* in general, the *pontifex* was probably at first so called because he was a ‘constructor of ways.’ It was an important duty of the state to provide an easy access to its principal sanctuaries with due regard to the exigencies of ritual and the prescriptions of divination, so that the constructors of a *via sacra* could hardly fail to acquire a sacerdotal character.

old religious law, which was applied by the Pontifical college, a comparison is apt to be made between the justice of ecclesiastical and civil magistrates, not very flattering to the former. The unfairness of such a view is however obvious, if one takes into consideration :— firstly, that the *jus pontificium* was so named, *not* because its foundation was the work of the Pontiffs, but because its interpretation and application had passed into their hands,—that it was in reality the old ‘common law’ of Latium, in existence long before there was a Pontifical college to supply its deficiencies, and owing its origin to the religious ideas of men, who, whatever were their pretensions, had much more the characteristics of laymen than of ecclesiastics ; secondly, that the palliation and setting aside of unequitable laws (such as those which gave absolute power to a father over his children and to a husband over his wife, or which prevented a married woman’s inheriting from her own kin) by the *Prætor urbanus*, in his application of the *jus civile* of the XII. tables, by means of legal fictions, was but a following of what was done in a more straightforward way by the Pontiffs, in their application of the *jus pontificium*,¹

¹ As in England the unequitable provisions of our old common law have been attenuated or set aside by our Equity courts, which were long composed of ecclesiastics versed in the study and guided by the principles of canon law.

whether the latter were called upon to pronounce sentence as judges in litigious cases, or to threaten as priests armed with the power of excommunication,¹ or again as jurisconsults to determine by their opinion, which seems to have been rarely, if ever, opposed,² the passing of a *lex curiata* by the Patricians' assembly, authorising a testament, an adoption, the emancipation of a son, or the like ; thirdly, that, until the Empire, nearly all the great jurisconsults, even of the *jus civile*, whose names have come down to us, belonged to the sacerdotal colleges ;³ and

¹ 'If a husband sold his wife, or a father sold his married son ; if a patron violated his obligation to keep faith with his guest or dependent, the civil law had no penalty for such outrages, but the burden of the curse of the gods lay thenceforth on the head of the offender.' . . . 'And the civilising agency of religion must have exercised an influence deeper and purer precisely because it was not contaminated by any appeal to the secular arm.'—Momm- sen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. Dickson.

² The Pontiffs seem to have enjoyed the same virtual authority in the Comitia Curiata as the law-lords in our House of Peers, when the latter sits as a court of justice. During the latter days of the Republic, the proceedings in the Comitia Curiata became in fact a mere matter of form, the 30 curies being usually represented by their lictors, who ratified anything that was proposed by the Pontifical college or by the Senate.

³ As, for instance, the Pontifex Maximus, Tiberius Coruncanius, who was the first person at Rome to give regular instruction in law, the Pontifex Maximus, P. Mucius Scævola, whose writings were much quoted by the jurists of later times, the Augur, Q. Mucius Scævola, one of Cicero's masters, and his son the Pontifex Maximus

fourthly, that, if it was not the Pontifical college that gave the last touches to Roman law, this was partly because it had wanted time to do so, in consequence of the great decrease in number of the Patricians, who were always so ready to pay the '*impôt du sang*,' and the practical obligation' on their part to accept the regimen of the *jus civile*, common to both orders, instead of the *jus pontificium*, under the regimen of which they could have no dealings in law either with Plebeians or with *Latini*,¹ and

P. Mucius Scaevola ('*jurisperitorum eloquentissimus, eloquentium jurisperitissimus*'), who was considered to have been the first to give the *jus civile* a systematic form, by a treatise in 18 books.

¹ The *jus civile* of the XII. tables was placed by the Decemvirs on a purely secular basis, not apparently because the Plebs wished it so, but because the narrow prejudices of the Patricians at the time forbade them to admit the former to participate in the religion of the city, except on the footing of clients. A marriage, for instance, between two Patricians, under the regimen of the *jus pontificium*, was the result of a religious ceremony, the *confarreatio*, which made the wife a priestess at her husband's hearth of his family gods, and the union in consequence normally indissoluble; whereas a marriage between two Plebeians, or between a Patrician and a Plebeian, or, if they chose it, between two Patricians, under the regimen of the *jus civile*, was merely the result of the consent of the two parties (*mutuus consensus*), and could be broken at any time by the will of either party, unless the man had acquired the absolute rights of a father and husband (*patria potestas* and *manus maritalis*), such as were inherent to a marriage *per confarreationem*, by a form of sale (*coemptio*) or by a prescriptive claim (*usus*), but in this case the woman became in law a mere piece of property, which the husband

partly because the Pontiffs were more or less hampered by the ancient text of the law which they applied, as were also the *Prætor urbanus* and his delegates, the *Præfecti* in the colonies by that of the XII. tables—so that the magistrates who contributed most to the last developments of Roman law were the *Prætor peregrinus* in the metropolis and the *Præsides* of Provinces, for these having full power to legislate as it suited their pleasure for aliens (*peregrini*), who had no civil rights, and, when personally disinterested, being generally guided by the principles of equity which the Pontifical college had both developed and diffused among the aristocracy, the *jus gentium* was gradually elaborated, which eventually came to supersede both the *jus pontificium* and the *jus civile*.

e. Of the Aryan populations of Northern and Western Europe, it is only among the Kymric Celts that we find a regular trained clergy dating from perhaps as far back as the 6th century B.C., as the Druidic order is said traditionally to have been founded by Hesus or Heus (the

could even sell (*mancipare*) to another, if it pleased him to do so. The Law of the XII. tables however provided that, if a woman did not wish to come into the *manus* of her husband, by absenting herself from him annually for three nights, she could break the *usus* of the year. Vide Article *Matrimonium* in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

Hu-Cadarn of Welsh traditions), leader of the first Kymric invaders of Gaul.¹

It is well known that the Druids ended by acquiring an authority superior for some time to that of the *Brenns* or chiefs ; but it is by no means sure that, when the formér were united into an order by Hesus, they were much more than bards, and it would seem from the superior civilisation of the Kymry to that of the other populations of Northern and Western Europe that it was chiefly owing to the acquirement of a no small stock of scientific information, derived apparently from Asia,² that the Druids became successively men of science, metaphysicians and priests.³

¹ Vide *Histoire des Gaulois*, by Am. Thierry.

² It is now well proved that there was considerable traffic, dating from a very early period, between Asia Minor and the Northern populations of Europe, and that its principal intermediaries were the Tibarenians and Moschians (the Tubal and Meshech of Scripture—Vide *Ezek.* xxvii. 13—), who bartered the metal-work of the Chalybians for slaves, etc. The Phœnicians also, before their establishments were seized by the Greeks, frequented, as traders, the northern shores of the Euxine, where the main body of the Kymry (the *Κιμμέριοι* of the Greek writers) were long settled. The Druidic religion had many points of contact, especially in its worst features, with the cultus of Anaitis, Cybele and other Asiatic divinities, and its metaphysical system was clearly in great part of Asiatic origin.

³ ‘ Ces deux notions combinées de la métempsychose et d’une vie future formaient la base du système philosophique et religieux des

Nor can the rise of the Druidical order among the Kymry be regarded as taking place in the midst of a

‘druides ; mais leur science ne se bornait pas là. Ils prétendaient
‘connaître la nature des choses, l’essence et la puissance des dieux,
‘ainsi que leur mode d’action sur le monde, la grandeur de l’univers,
‘celle de la terre, la forme et les mouvements des astres, la vertu
‘des plantes, les forces occultes qui changent l’ordre naturel et
‘dévoilent l’avenir : en un mot, ils étaient métaphysiciens, phy-
‘siciens, astronomes, médecins, sorciers et devins. Malheureuse-
‘ment pour l’histoire, rien n’est resté de toutes ces discussions
‘métaphysiques qui agitaient si vivement les prêtres de la Gaule
‘dans leurs solitudes. Le peu que nous savons de leur astronomie
‘fait penser qu’ils ne s’étaient pas appliqués sans succès à cette
‘science, du moins à sa partie pratique ; l’observation des phéno-
‘mènes planétaires jouant un rôle important dans leurs rites re-
‘ligieux, comme dans beaucoup d’actes de leur vie civile.’ . . .
‘L’ordre des druides était électif, et comme il possédait le mono-
‘pole de l’éducation, il pouvait à loisir se former des adeptes au
‘moyen desquels il se recrutait. Le temps du noviciat, mêlé de
‘sévères épreuves, et passé dans la solitude au fond des bois ou dans
‘les cavernes des montagnes, durait quelquefois vingt ans ; car il
‘fallait apprendre de mémoire cette immense encyclopédie poétique
‘qui contenait la science du sacerdoce. Chacune des deux classes
‘inférieures de la hiérarchie [the *Ovates*, *Eubates* or *Eubages*, and
‘the *Bards*] étudiait la partie relative à son ministère, mais le
‘druide devait tout savoir. Un druide suprême ou grand pontife,
‘investi, pour toute sa vie, d’une autorité absolue, veillait au main-
‘tien de l’institution ; à sa mort, il était remplacé par le druide le
‘plus élevé en dignité après lui.’ . . . ‘Les druides se for-
‘maient, à certaines époques de l’année, en cour de justice. Là se
‘rendaient ceux qui avaient des différends ; on y conduisait aussi les
‘prévenus de crimes et de délits ; les questions de meurtre et de vol,
‘les contestations sur les héritages, sur les limites des propriétés, en

generally barbarous state of society, for our idea of the civilisation of Gaul, before it assimilated in such an amazingly short space of time that of the Romans, must not of course be formed from what we know of the Celtic invaders of Latium, Greece or Asia Minor.¹ These indeed were mere bands of adventurers in quest of plunder, like the 'great companies' and '*Ecorcheurs*' of the Middle Ages, who figure in the histories of the countries they desolated as little better than savages, and as, doubtless, the destroyers of the Summer Palace will in the annals of China.

f. Since the publication of the *Vedas*, considerable knowledge has been gathered of the early social and political state of the Aryan conquerors of Hindustan, and we know that, when they had not yet advanced farther than the Punjaub and before they had adopted the advanced civilisation of the Eastern Cushites, the Brahmins, who established in the Ganges watershed such a powerful theocracy, were still mere bards, and only permitted to

'un mot, toutes les affaires d'intérêt général et privé, étaient 'soumises à leur arbitrage.'—Am. Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*.

¹ Even in Britain, there was, in the Southern states, a gold coinage imitating the Macedonian staters of Philip II., at least a hundred years before the landing of Julius Cæsar. Vide No. 8, in *Guide to the select Greek Coins exhibited in Electrottype* (on sale at the British Museum).

figure in a subordinate position at the sacrifices celebrated by the Radjahs or chiefs. 'At the time of the composition of the Vedic hymns,' writes M. Vivien de St. Martin, 'the Brahmins are very far from the lofty position to which we shall see them attain in the following centuries. 'Nothing as yet seems to forbode the struggle, which so many legends have consecrated between them and the Kchatriyas, and which ended by giving to the former so great a preponderance both political and religious. The Brahmins, as they appear in the hymns, are thrown into the background by the chiefs, on whose favour and gifts they are quite dependent ;'¹ though it would seem probable that many of the early Brahmins were themselves Radjahs, or, as the celebrated Viçvamitra, of royal blood, and not as their descendants tried to make out, of still more illustrious origin.

It was not until some centuries after the great war celebrated by the *Mahabharata*, that the Brahmins reigned supreme in Hindustan, and parallel with their rise was the new and magnificent development which the old civilisation of the Ganges watershed received at their hands, a development which produced schools of philosophy but little inferior to those of Greece for depth,

¹ Quoted in the *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient* of F. Lenormant.

subtily or variety, some very valuable contributions to the science of modern Europe,¹ and one of the five or six

¹ What the Brahmins achieved in philosophy, literature and art is generally better known than their contributions to science, among which we cannot be too grateful for the decimal system of arithmetical notation commonly called the *Arabic*.

‘Les corporations de brahmanes ne s’occupaient pas seulement ‘des choses religieuses. Ils étaient l’intelligence de la société ‘aryenne de l’Inde, et c’étaient eux seuls qui cultivaient l’étude des ‘sciences.’ . . . ‘Comme l’a dit M. A. Weber, ils ont plus ‘fait dans la connaissance des lois de leur langue, dans la grammaire, ‘la lexicographie, la métrique, qu’aucun autre peuple du monde, ‘jusqu’à ce que dans notre siècle Bopp, Guillaume de Humboldt, ‘Eugène Burnouf et Jacob Grimm, en partie guidés par eux, les ‘aient surpassés.’ . . . ‘La médecine des Indiens antiques ‘témoigne d’une masse déjà très-remarquable de connaissances. ‘Les renseignements sur la diététique, sur l’origine des maladies et ‘leur diagnostic, prouvent une observation sagace. Les brahmanes ‘médecins—car cette profession était réservée à la caste sacerdotale ‘et savante—avaient une pharmacologie avancée. Ils connaissaient ‘parfaitement les simples et leurs qualités, et leur tradition a fourni ‘sur ce sujet plus d’un renseignement à l’Europe. Ils avaient une ‘chimie toute empirique, mais en possession déjà de procédés que ‘l’on s’étonne de trouver dans des siècles aussi reculés. Ils savaient ‘préparer les acides sulfurique, nitrique et chlorhydrique ; les oxydes ‘de cuivre, de fer, de plomb, d’étain et de zinc ; les sulfures de fer, ‘de cuivre, de mercure, d’antimonie et d’arsenic ; les sulfates de ‘cuivre, de zinc et de fer ; les carbonates de fer et de plomb ; et ‘toutes ces substances étaient employées par eux dans le traitement ‘des maladies. Leur médication paraît du reste avoir été générale- ‘ment très-hardie. Ils ont été les premiers dans le monde à em- ‘ployer les minéraux d’une manière interne ; et non-seulement ils ‘administraient ainsi le mercure, mais même l’arsenic et l’acide

richest literatures of the world, while the rise of the more pastoral Buddhist clergy in the same country was imme-

'arsénieux pour couper les fièvres intermittentes. Ils employaient 'le cinabre en fumigation, comme moyen de produire rapidement 'une salivation abondante. La chirurgie des anciens Indiens n'était 'pas moins remarquable que leur médecine.' . . . 'Les 'chirurgiens de l'Inde, plusieurs siècles avant l'ère chrétienne, pratiquaient la taille de la pierre, l'opération de la cataracte et 'l'extraction du fœtus dans les fausses couches. Dans les livres 'attribués aux médecins antiques on trouve nommés jusqu'à cent 'vingt sept espèces d'instruments de chirurgie. La rhinoplastie est 'une méthode inventée dans les anciennes écoles brahmaniques, qui 's'était conservée dans l'Inde et que l'Europe y a empruntée de nos 'jours. Enfin l'art vétérinaire était une branche de la science 'médicale qui avait aussi fait de très-sérieux progrès dans l'Inde 'antique et dont on s'était fort occupé. On signale, dès une époque 'très-haute, l'existence d'écrits spéciaux sur les maladies des chevaux 'et des éléphants.' . . . 'C'est seulement dans les siècles qui 'suivirent l'expédition d'Alexandre, au contact avec les Grecs et 'surtout par suite des communications commerciales désormais 'régulières et fréquentes avec Alexandrie, que l'astronomie indienne 'prit un caractère véritablement scientifique, à l'imitation de 'l'astronomie grecque, et dans les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne 'elle fit de grands progrès, en partie originaux, qui eurent plus tard 'une influence considérable sur l'astronomie des Arabes au temps 'des khalifes. Ce furent aussi les exemples et les enseignements des 'Grecs qui créèrent chez les Indiens la science de la géométrie et de 'l'algèbre.' . . . 'Mais si l'Inde ne reçut que tardivement et 'des étrangers les éléments fondamentaux de ces études, son esprit, 'toujours porté vers les abstractions, y était éminemment propre. 'Aussi les mathématiciens indiens dépassèrent-ils leurs précepteurs, surtout en trigonométrie et en algèbre. Leur grande science

diately followed by an architectural display, in some respects equal, if not superior, even to that of ancient Egypt.

g. If we turn now to the Shemitic race, it is easy to see from the Book of *Genesis* that, at the dawn of its history, its patriarchs were as much in possession of sacerdotal authority and generally as little occupied with sacerdotal duties as those of the Aryans.

With the exception of the Israelites, it was, in fact, only among populations of this race which had come into very close relations with their Hamitic neigh-

‘géométrique ressort clairement des démonstrations qu’ils ont données
 ‘des propriétés des triangles, surtout de celle qui déduit la mesure
 ‘superficielle d’un triangle du calcul de ses trois côtés, théorème
 ‘qui n’a été connu en Europe qu’au XVI^e siècle, par les travaux de
 ‘Clavius. Ils avaient aussi découvert, dès les premiers siècles de
 ‘notre ère, le rapport du rayon à la circonférence du cercle, qui n’a
 ‘été déterminé en Europe que dans les temps modernes. Le grand
 ‘algébriste indien Aryabhata vivait vers le V^e siècle de Jésus-
 ‘Christ ; il est donc postérieur à Diophante et il en a certainement
 ‘connu les travaux. Mais il a été plus loin, car il savait réduire
 ‘des équations à plusieurs inconnues et il a donné une méthode
 ‘générale pour résoudre tous les problèmes, au moins jusqu’au
 ‘premier degré. On peut dire que ces travaux et ceux de ses con-
 ‘tinuateurs jusqu’au XII^e siècle sont en état de soutenir, dans une
 ‘certaine mesure, la comparaison avec ceux de la science moderne.’
 . . . ‘En revanche, la géographie est de toutes les sciences celle dans
 ‘laquelle l’Inde brahmanique de l’antiquité avait fait le moins de
 ‘progrès.’—F. Lenormant, *Manuel d’Histoire ancienne de l’Orient*.

hours, that we find a regular clergy dating from a relatively early period of its history, as in Assyria where the sacerdotal order was closely connected with that of Babylonia.¹

Among the purely Shemitic populations of Arabia, even as late as the Hegira, the sheikhs had remained the chief priests of their respective clans and tribes, as were the Koreish at Mecca, though from a few generations before Mahomet, we find that the *Hanyfs* had begun to constitute a sort of independent clergy; and these Hanyfs seem to have been for the most part either Jews or, as Zaid, at whose feet the Prophet of Islam is said to have sat, the disciples of Jewish Rabbis.

Even the Aaronic priesthood of Israel does not date from a very remote antiquity, for it was only after the Exodus from Egypt, under the decline of the great 19th dynasty, that Moses, 'learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,'² founded the Levitic order *to replace the*

¹ There was very little *external* difference between the religions of these two countries, the Assyrians having adopted almost all the divinities worshipped in Babylonia; but at the summit of this foreign pantheon they placed their own national god, Assur, apparently almost a Theistic conception, as he was sometimes assimilated to Ilu, the inactive self-existent Being of Chaldæan theology, but without losing in consequence his active personality or his local attributes.

² *Acts vii. 22.*

firstborn ;¹ and the ecclesiastical, as well as the ritualistic, institutions of the inspired legislator have all the appearance of having been much imitated from what he had seen and studied in his long-adopted country.²

¹ *Numb.* viii. 18.

² In order that the Mosaic ritual should serve as a means of education, it was necessary that it should be a language already understood by the people. The tendency, however, of the Shemitic race, like that of the Aryan, is to transmute for its own purposes whatever it borrows from other races.

‘The Jews,’ writes Dr. Newman, ‘might quite as justly be charged with Paganism for their rites, as we with Judaism for ours ; for ours are not so like the Jewish, as the Jewish were like those of the Pagans. This ought to be insisted on. It has been shewn by learned men, that considerable portions of the Mosaic system were either taken from the heathen religions which surrounded it, or at least, from their likeness, must have had a common origin with them.’ . . . ‘Now, if it is a good argument against our Christian priesthood, Christian sacrifices, Christian Sabbaths and Christian sacraments, that they are like ordinances of the Jewish Law, which came from God, much more would it be an argument against that Law in Samuel’s time or David’s, as infidels have made it since, that, in some chief portions of it, it is like the paganism of Egypt or Syria. And if it is a good argument against our Church system, that St. Paul denounces Paganism, surely it is not a worse argument against the Jewish system, that Moses denounces Paganism.’ . . . ‘At one time, God dwelt in the Jewish ritual, though it was like the Pagan ; and now He dwells in the Christian ritual, though it be like the Jewish. Forms are nothing without God’s presence ; but with His presence they are all things.’—Sermon on *The Principle of Continuity between the Jewish and Christian Churches*, in *Sermons bearing on Subjects of the Day*.

We see, too, from the Book of *Judges*, that, even after so long a sojourn in Egypt, the great majority of the Israelites, having come little in contact with their oppressors, were not yet sufficiently civilised for the Mosaic institutions,¹ and that not only were these long lost sight of, when the short-lived federation of the tribes under Moses and Joshua was practically dissolved, but that, after the conquest of Canaan, the patriarchal system soon reappeared in all its essential features : each sheikh, or 'elder,' being a little absolute monarch and to all intents the chief priest of the 'high place' within his jurisdiction, while the unity of the nation was only, to a certain degree, preserved, or rather kept in remembrance, by the veneration common to all the tribes for the Tabernacle at Shiloh and by an occasional federation of neighbouring clans or even of neighbouring tribes against a common enemy.

It was not before the days of Samuel, who may be regarded as the second founder of the Jewish nation, that its centralisation and civilisation began again to be set on

¹ It was precisely for this reason that the Book of *Deuteronomy* (the only book of the *Pentateuch*, the authorship of which is virtually ascribed to Moses in the text) was composed by the prophet-legislator, not for his contemporaries with whom he had so little in common, but for a much more advanced generation ; the phraseology of the book and the archaisms found in it furnishing moreover strong evidence of its early date, at least in its first redaction.

foot, in connection with the rise of the sacerdotal order, and especially of the prophetic colleges, which the seer of Ramah had formed apparently from the flower of his own tribe of Levi. Nor was it before the reign of Hezekiah, in the golden age of Hebrew prophetic literature, and when the civilisation of Jerusalem was already not far behind that of many a town of Assyria or even Phœnicia, that the priests and prophets were sufficiently influential to demand the suppression of the 'high places,' where the sheikhs, with or without the humble assistance of Levites, celebrated divine worship according to their own fancies, and usually in a manner very prejudicial to the Monotheistic ideas cherished and defended by the hierarchy of the holy city.

But the most 'clerical' age of Israel was that of a much more educated and enlightened series of generations, and can hardly be said to have begun before the Return from Captivity. 'One of the most mysterious and momentous periods in the history of humanity,' writes Emanuel Deutsch,¹ 'is that brief space of the Exile. 'What were the influences brought to bear upon the captives during that time, we know not. But this we know, 'that from a reckless, lawless, godless populace, they re-

¹ Article on *The Talmud* in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1867.

‘turned transformed into a band of Puritans. The religion
‘of Zerdusht, though it has left traces in Judaism, fails to
‘account for the change. Nor does the Exile itself account
‘for it. Many and intense as are the reminiscences of its
‘bitterness, and of yearning for home, that have survived
‘in prayer and in song, yet we know that when the hour
‘of liberty struck, the forced colonists were loth to return
‘to the land of their fathers. Yet the change is there,
‘palpable, unmistakable—a change which we may regard
‘as almost miraculous. Scarcely aware before of the
‘existence of their glorious national literature, the people
‘now began to press round these brands plucked from the
‘fire—the scanty records of their faith and history—with a
‘fierce and passionate love, a love stronger even than that
‘of wife and child. These same documents, as they were
‘gradually formed into a canon, became the immutable
‘centre of their lives, their actions, their thoughts, their
‘very dreams. From that time forth, with scarcely any
‘intermission, the keenest as well as the most poetical
‘minds of the nation remained fixed upon them.’

The adoption of a theocratic form of government, in which the high-priest was the supreme civil magistrate of the nation, the claims of the House of David after the death of Zerubbabel being apparently not even put forward, was another result of the great change that had

come over the chosen people. The enthusiastic feelings with which all classes at this time regarded the Aaronic priesthood find their expression in the Books of *Chronicles*, and they had not died out when the son of Sirach described a popular sovereign pontiff, coming out from the sanctuary to bless the people, 'as the sun shining upon the temple of the most High,' 'as fire and incense in the censer,' 'as a vessel of beaten gold set with all manner of precious stones,' &c. ;¹ for then indeed 'were the sons of 'Aaron in their glory, and the oblations of the Lord in 'their hands, before all the congregation of Israel.'²

It is, however, a remarkable circumstance that the only class of the Jewish people which does not seem to have profited in any wise from the bitter probation of the Exile was a large section of the sacerdotal order ; so that it proved quite incapable of meeting the national desires and the spiritual wants of the period. The Priests who formed the nucleus of the Sadducee party were willing enough to be civil magistrates, to receive any amount of tithes, and to go through the routine of a purely external worship, the magnificence of which added to their dignity in the eyes of the people, but they had neither the will nor in general the capacity to take the lead in the religious and intellectual movement of the age ; for, although

¹ *Ecclus.* 1.

² *Ecclus.* 1. 13.

like the old royal house, they seem to have been by no means averse to the introduction of foreign luxury or of anything else from abroad that had no connection with religion or politics, they were strongly opposed to all 'new-fangled' doctrines or ideas, especially to such as had a mystical tendency. The reason thereof being that the more advanced and spiritualistic was the religion of the people, the more activity, purity of life, and learning was expected of its clergy. Such, we have seen, was the attitude of a large section of the Greek Eupatridæ in the days of Solon, and, thanks to lay patronage, we need not go far to find priests of the same unclerical type in our own generation and land, though it is one of the happiest 'signs of the time' that their number is rapidly decreasing.

The consequence was that a new clergy had to be created in order to meet the religious wants of the age ; or rather that object was effected by the transformation of an old clerical order, for the Scribes, whom our Lord recognised as sitting 'in Moses' seat,'¹ may therefore be regarded as the successors and representatives of the Prophets whose order was founded by Samuel.

These Scribes, who formed the nucleus of the Pharisee party, derived the authority of their order from the Great

¹ *Matt.* xxiii. 2.

Synagogue, convoked and presided by Ezra, the same venerable assembly which, according to Jewish tradition, had received the Oral Law, of which the Scribes were jurisconsults, from the last Prophets, to whom it had come down from Moses.

In opposition to the Sadducee Priests, the Pharisee Scribes were the champions of religious and intellectual, rather than of material, progress. As politicians, they desired the rule of an aristocracy of learning and piety rather than of mere birth or property, emancipation of the nation from vassalage to a foreign power, chiefly on account of the moral corruption which so often results from intercourse with foreigners, and they also favoured a proselytism which was for the sake of the proselyte, monogamy, humane punishments,¹ and education for all classes. As theologians and interpreters of Scripture, they claimed

¹ 'The "Lex Talionis" is unknown to the Talmud. Paying "measure for measure," it says, "is in God's hand only." Bodily injuries inflicted are to be redeemed by money; and here again the Pharisees had carried the day against the Sadducees, who insisted upon the literal interpretation of the "eye for eye." The extreme punishments, "flagellation" and "death," as ordained in the Mosaic Code, were inflicted in a humane manner unknown not only to the contemporary courts of antiquity, but even to those of Europe up to within the last generation. Thirty-nine was the utmost number of strokes to be inflicted: but—the "loving one's neighbour like oneself" being constantly urged by the Penal Code itself, even with

as much authority for the later Prophetic Books and even for the unwritten traditions, called the Oral Law, as for the Pentateuch, they strove to develop and spiritualise the national religion,¹ and to that end were, rightly or wrongly, not averse to the study of foreign metaphysics,

‘regard to criminals—if the life of the culprit was in the least degree ‘endangered this number was at once reduced.’ . . . ‘The ‘care taken of human life was extreme indeed. The judges of ‘capital offences had to fast all day, nor was the sentence executed ‘on the day of the verdict, but it was once more subjected to ‘scrutiny by the Sanhedrin the next day. Even to the last some ‘favourable circumstance that might turn the scale in the prisoner’s ‘favour was looked for.’ . . . ‘To the last the culprit was ‘supported by marks of profound and awful sympathy. The ladies ‘of Jerusalem formed a society which provided a beverage of mixed ‘myrrh and vinegar, that, like an opiate, benumbed the man when ‘he was being carried to execution.’—Emanuel Deutsch, Article on *The Talmud* in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1867.

¹ It is to be observed that there were two diverging tendencies in Pharisaism, which respectively found their fullest expression in the rival schools of Schammai and Hillel, in the 1st century B.C. Both schools had the same object in view, viz. the development of the national religion and spiritual communion with God, but they advocated different means of attaining their object. One school held that the safest plan was to improve on the Mosaic legislation and ritual by multiplying and exacting the most rigid observance of external ordinances, while the other school contended that the soul was rather to be emancipated from the burthen of external ordinances, and that the spirit of an injunction was always to be preferred to its letter. The Essenes seem in general to have accepted what was best in the teachings of either Pharisaic school.

and they introduced and developed in the synagogues, of which they were the creators, and where they, and not the Priests, conducted divine worship, a ritual, quite foreign, though not opposed, to the Mosaic ritual of the Temple, and in which Baptism¹ and other Aryan elements are to be found. It is not indeed to be supposed that there was even a wish on their part to see anything in the legislation of Moses abrogated or the Aaronic priesthood degraded, but they insisted on the necessity of supplementing and limiting the Written Law by the Oral Law, and they strove to oblige the hereditary ministers of religion to do their duty in accordance with the spirit of the time.

While, therefore, the only Messiah looked forward to by the Sadducees was a sovereign high-priest or a king like Herod the Great, who would do everything for the material prosperity of the nation, especially of the priests and great land-owners, and who would be on the best of terms with the Persian, Macedonian, or Roman lord-paramount of the day, and while a peasant *diacrian* party, especially strong in the hill country of Galilee, and equally opposed to the Sadducees and to the Pharisees,²

¹ Vide *John* iii. 10.

² The falsely and insidiously reported connection of our Lord with this party contributed not a little to make 'Christ crucified' a 'stumblingblock' to the Pharisees (1 *Cor.* i. 23). 'Shall

had imagined a demagogue and socialist Messiah, such as Judas of Galilee,¹ or such as the Galilean followers of our Lord seem to have expected in the early days of their discipleship, the Scribes continued the work of the Prophets in developing the idea of a prophetic and saintly Messiah, in fact, such a Messiah as scholastic exclusiveness and pride, the bane of Pharisaism, prevented them from recognising in One, who was *personally* unknown to the academic world of Jerusalem.²

But however culpably the Scribes exaggerated the importance of a university education and despised those who either had no leisure or no inclination to sit at the feet of the famous rabbis of the capital, nothing can be more certain than the intimate connection of their authority and influence as a clerical order with the most brilliant culture and the extraordinary intellectual activity of the Jewish people. 'Strenuously and indefatigably,' writes Emanuel Deutsch,³ 'the Pharisees advocated education, Christ,' they ironically asked, 'come out of Galilee?' . . . 'Search and look, for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.' *John vii. 41 and 52.*

¹ *Acts v. 37.*

² At the time of our Lord's ministry, the Scribes as a body had sadly degenerated, but it was precisely because they *did* know what was right, without living up to their knowledge and especially to their pretensions, that they were so severely condemned.

³ *Notes of a Lecture on the Talmud*, delivered at the Royal Institution.

‘ cation ; and by their unceasing efforts, hundreds of syna-
‘ gogues, colleges, and schools arose, not only in Judæa, but
‘ throughout the whole Roman Empire. Over Judæa, after
‘ many unsuccessful attempts, education was made com-
‘ pulsory everywhere except in Galilee. Peculiar circum-
‘ stances arising out of its geographical position behind
‘ Samaria and Phœnicia, had reduced that beautiful coun-
‘ try to be the Bœotia of Palestine. The faulty pronun-
‘ ciation of its inhabitants was the standing joke of the
‘ witty denizens of the metropolis. After the fall of Jeru-
‘ salem, however, this was altered, and Galilee became in
‘ her turn the seat of some of the most exalted Academies.

‘ The regulations and provisions for public instruction
‘ were extremely strict and minute. The number of chil-
‘ dren allotted to one teacher, the school buildings and
‘ their sites, the road even that led to them, everything was
‘ considered ; no less the age of the pupils and the duties
‘ of the parents with regard to preliminary preparation and
‘ continuous domestic supervision of their tasks. The
‘ subjects, the method, the gradual weaning of the pupil
‘ into a teacher or helpmate of his fellow-pupils—all these
‘ things are carefully exposed in the Talmud. Above all
‘ is the great principle *Non multa sed multum*, the motto of
‘ all schooling in the Talmud. Good fundamental ground-
‘ ing, elementary *maternal* teaching, and constant repetition

‘are some of the chief principles laid down. The teachers, ‘in most cases, taught gratuitously : considering theirs a ‘holy and godly office, for which the reward would surely ‘not fail them. The relation between master and disciple ‘was generally that of father and child, or friend and friend. ‘Next to Law, Ethics, History, and Grammar—Languages ‘were one of the principal subjects of study. We hear of ‘Coptic, Aramaic, Persian, Median, Latin, but above all ‘Greek. The terms in which this last language is spoken ‘of verge indeed on the transcendental. This also is the ‘only language which it seems to have been incumbent ‘to teach even to girls. Medicine was another necessary ‘subject of instruction : the hygienic laws and the anatomical knowledge (bound up with religion) transmitted ‘to us in the book shew indeed no small proficiency for ‘its time. Mathematics and Astronomy formed another ‘part of instruction, and were indeed considered indispensable. We hear of men to whom the ways of the ‘stars in the skies were as familiar as the streets of their ‘native city, and others who could compute the number of ‘drops in the ocean, who foretold the appearance of ‘comets, &c. Next came Natural History, chiefly Botany ‘and Zoology. The highest point, however, was reached ‘in Jurisprudence, which formed the most extensive and ‘thoroughly national study.’

Such is the testimony of history to the connection between *clericalism* and real progress, but one might indeed be allowed to admit *a priori* that the class, whose influence would be most favourable to intellectual and æsthetic culture, and generally to everything that most conduces to civilisation and refinement, would be one trained to a life at once sedentary and active, aspiring to a higher state of existence, and anxious, if only from interested motives, to supply religion with her most powerful allies and useful handmaids ; so it is not surprising that all over Europe at the present day it is the clergy who are the most zealous advocates of liberal *v.* utilitarian education,¹ that in our own country it is easy to see that about nine-tenths of the culture and refinement that any class can boast of is directly or indirectly due to our clergy, whether we find them engaged, as at our ancient seats of learning,—owing to these being ecclesiastical foundations—in forming the most polished gentlemen of the Anglo-Saxon race, or, scattered over the length and breadth of the land, in organising and directing ‘young

¹ I have had opportunities of noting in Spain how disgracefully the level of university studies had sunk since the clergy has ceased to have the direction of superior education, and I understand that such is also the case in Italy, where not even such an illustrious seat of learning as the monastery of Monte Cassino has been spared by the vandalism of the present government.

men's Christian associations,' guilds, singing classes, parish libraries and the like, and that until a few years ago, when the government began to promote the foundation of atheistic schools, the education provided for our lower classes was almost entirely due to clerical activity ; while, on the other hand, wherever, as among the working population of our large manufacturing towns, the influence of the clergy is next to nothing, there neither high wages, nor the franchise, nor free libraries, nor mechanics' institutes and the like are of any avail to redeem men from having no higher idea of happiness than such as can be realised at the gin-palace.

Nor is it surprising to find in history that, wherever a large population has retrograded in civilisation, the authority of its clergy has at once lost ground, if not in appearance, at least in reality ; this being particularly noticeable in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire after the invasion of the Barbarians. One of the first effects of the abandonment by Rome of her provinces to the fury and cupidity of the invaders was, no doubt, to draw the unfortunate Provincials round their Bishops, under whose paternal guidance many towns, especially in Gaul, managed to preserve during several centuries the Roman civilisation with a considerable amount of municipal independence. It is, however, easy to see from the

chronicles of the time,¹ that the Franks, for instance, had accepted little or nothing of the Christian religion but a few external forms, and, although the Gallo-Roman clerks were found to be useful as scribes and counsellors by the barbarian kings, it was only in the towns among the old population that they continued to have any real influence. And when the culture of antiquity had given a last flicker under the church-favouring Charlemagne, and when the conquering races had, for a time at least, gained much less than the Roman Provincials had lost in consequence of their gradual fusion, then began that dark age, which the Italians have called the *Secolo di ferro*, and the reign of brute force all over Western Christendom.

To a superficial observer, indeed, the Church, even in the tenth century, would seem to have been still an honoured institution, and there was no question of abolishing her bishops and synods, her convents or her chapters, or even the temporal jurisdiction enjoyed by many of her prelates, for the reason that her spiritual power was not then so much assailed by open enemies as it was undermined by false friends. The almost empty shell remained the same as before; but the bishops had nothing but the sacrament of ordination to qualify them for their office, being practically appointed by temporal powers and

¹ Vide Aug. Thierry's *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France*.

chosen for the most part from the military nobility, not unfrequently on account of the services expected from them in time of war ; priests, who were married in defiance of the most stringent canons, were thrust upon parishes, also by lay patrons ; the cathedral chapters, which at this time had a large share in diocesan administration, were invaded by *lay canons* ; and the revenues of the convents were appropriated by temporal princes such as Hugh, Duke of France, surnamed the Abbot, on account of the wealth he derived from the numerous monastic foundations in his dominions. In the meantime at Rome, the Pontifical throne was as much in the power of temporal rulers as even Victor Emanuel or Prince von Bismarck would have it at the present day : the Dukes of Tuscany and the Counts of Tusculum, or more frequently their wives and mistresses, practically made and unmade the Popes, just as one or the other happened to be master of the town ; the crowning result of lay interference in ecclesiastical matters being the raising to St. Peter's chair of a boy, twelve years old, the notorious Benedict IX., whose father Alberic, Count of Tusculum, commanded the city from the Alban hills.

Such was the wretched state of subjection suffered by the clergy, and such the utter disregard of the laity for the ecclesiastical censures which their sacrileges must have

constantly provoked, when the West of Europe had almost fallen back into a state of barbarism. But the influence of the clergy revived as fast as the civilisation and culture of which it was the champion, and the great Innocents, who bearded and humbled monarchs like our king John and other crowned ruffians of the same stamp, were the contemporaries of such metaphysicians as St. Thomas Aquinas, of such men of science as Albert the Great, Roger Bacon, and Raymond Lulle, of such poets as Jacopone, Thomas of Salerno, the Troubadours of Provence, and the Minnesingers of Germany, and of such artists as the architects and decorators of by far the most beautiful of our Western cathedrals ;¹ while, thanks to the immense influence acquired by the clergy, universities were being founded all over Europe, the sciences and philosophy of antiquity and of the East appropriated and

¹ All archæologists are agreed now in placing in the 13th century the apogee of the only style of architecture that North-Western Europe can fairly call its own. Architecture declined in the following century chiefly in consequence of the art being abandoned by bishops and abbots, men of education and refinement, and becoming a mere handicraft in the hands of the free-masons ; though, as Fergusson has well shewn in his *History of Architecture*, this was fortunately much less the case in England than on the Continent. On the apogee of Christian art in the 13th century, vide the Introduction of Montalembert's *Histoire de Ste. Elisabeth de Hongrie*.

developed, and the great principles of Roman law (revived in the form of canon law) infused by bishop-chancellors into civil jurisprudence.

Seeing then that the culminating periods of intellectual and æsthetic culture have been so generally connected with the ascendancy of a clerical order, or at least, as at the present day in England and France, with its influence over the most cultivated classes of society, is it not reasonable to conclude that the same provision was divinely appointed for the education of humanity at large as of individuals? For in childhood the individual Christian is left by the Church almost entirely to the spiritual care of his earthly parents, and it is not generally until an age when his intellectual faculties are sufficiently developed that the youth is transferred to the pastoral authority of the parish priest, and henceforward the more he increases in wisdom and grace, the more he learns to value the ministry of the 'stewards of God's mysteries.'¹ And thus it has been with the various races of men: so long as they remained in a state of childhood, a patriarchal priesthood sufficed for their spiritual wants, and regular trained

¹ *I Cor.* iv. 1. Even in regard to the most degenerate of an order, sitting legitimately 'in Moses' seat,' our Lord's words are: 'All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do, but do not ye after their works.'—*Matt.* xxiii: 2, 3.

clergies did not appear until an age of advanced intellectual development.

It does not however seem to be according to the economy of Divine providence to suffer the extinction of any type, of any realised idea, that is still able to fulfil its purpose. Geology and Palæontology have disposed of the theory, which formerly prevailed in the scientific world, of periodical destructions of whole sets of types to make room for new ones. Everything on the contrary is tending to prove that, in the Divine economy of the Universe, progress is effected by accretion and development and not by useless destruction, and that it is only man in his ignorance who borrows for an indiscriminate use the sword of the destroying angel. There does not, for instance, appear to have been a single family of animals or of plants that has realised its type without a representative in the present geological age, up to which even the foraminiferæ and fucoid algæ of the lowest formations have remained almost without modification ; only they have now to share the surface of the globe with creatures of higher organisation in their respective kingdoms. And thus it has been with the old patriarchal priesthood : for as it is still able to fulfil the purpose for which it was first designed, viz. to prepare the hearts and minds of children for the ministrations of a higher sacerdotal order, the right

and duty of every competent father of a family to be a priest within his own household have been supplemented rather than supplanted by the greatly superior prerogatives of the Apostolic succession.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the reader will acknowledge that there are good reasons for holding :—

Firstly, that Christians have no just motive to take offence when accused of being Anthropomorphists, Dualists, &c., for in the creed of Christianity, the truths of all the religions which preceded it find a place, and their proper place.

Secondly, that the higher is the moral tone of a religion or a philosophy, the more necessary are the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Atonement, to secure its metaphysical system from contradiction either with facts or with itself.

Thirdly, that the Incarnation was delayed until the religious education of the most progressive races of mankind was sufficiently advanced for them to accept eagerly the doctrine of the Atonement, until the fields were ‘white already to harvest.’¹

¹ *John* iv. 35.



APPENDIX.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE HUMAN RACES.

Adopted in the main from those of F. Lenormant¹ and A. Maury.²

I. JAPHETHITES or ARYANS.

NAME IN GENESIS X.³

MADAI	{ Aryas. Iranians.
JAVAN	{ Pelasgians { Pelasgians. { Hellenes. { Libycans. { Italicans { Umbro-Sabellians. { Latins. { Oscans.
TIRAS . . . . .	. Illyrio-Thracians { Thracians. { Illyrians.
TUBAL . . . . .	. Tibarenians.

¹ In *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient* and *Les premières Civilisations*. An English translation of the former has been published.

² In *La Terre et l'Homme*.

³ Vide F. Lenormant's *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, and Smith's *Concise Dictionary of the Bible*.

MESHECH	.	.	.	.	Caucasians.
GOMER	{	TOGARMAH	.	.	Armenians.
		RIPHATH	.	.	Celts { Gael.
		ASHKENAZ	.	.	Teutons. { Kymry.
MAGOG	.	.	.	.	Sarmatians { Slaves.
					Letts.

2. *SHEMITES.*

ELAM	.	.	.	.	Elymæans.
ASSHUR	.	.	.	.	Assyrians.
LUD	.	.	.	.	Leucosyrians.
ARAM	.	.	.	.	Aramæans.
ARPHAXAD—EBER	{	PELEG			Hebrews.
		JOKTAN			Joktanites.

3. *HAMITES.*

CUSH	.	.	.	.	Cushites.
MIZRAIM	.	.	.	.	Egyptians.
PHUT	.	.	.	.	Berbers.
CANAAN.	{				Canaanites.
					Cario-Tyrrhenians.

4. *TURANIANS or CAINITES.*

Chinese.
Indochinese.
Dravidians.
Thibetans.
Mongols.

Finno-Tartars.
Accadians.
Chalybians.
Iberio-Ligurians.

5. *NEGROES.*

6. *HOTTENTOTS.*

7. *MELANIANS.*

8. *MALAYO-POLYNESIANS.*

9. *AMERICANS.*

The different branches of the three Noachite races,—ethnologically classed in *Genesis* x. with an accuracy which before the present century would have been impossible in any but a really prophetic document,—are there designated by the names of populations, belonging respectively to each, that were best known to the Israelites ; for their enterprising neighbours the Phœnicians from a very early period supplied most of the civilised world with tin, and were familiar with the shores of the Ægean and Euxine, long before the acquirement of the art of navigation and of piratical habits by the Pelasgians and Hellenes, about the time of Moses, obliged the sons of Canaan to abandon their maritime commerce with the Chalybian miners of the Caucasus, and to work themselves the tin mines of Spain.¹

Madai was the Hebrew name for Media, where the dominant race, in the midst of an older Finno-Tartar popu-

¹ On the commerce of Tyre, vide *Ezekiel* xxvii.

lation, was of the same stock as the Iranians of Persia (Far-sistan) and other countries lying between the Djebeltak (Zagros) and Suliman Mountains, their old language, Zend, being nearly related to the Sanskrit spoken by the Aryas, who succeeded the Cushites as the dominant race of Hindustan; *Javan* (the Ionians) for the Pelasgian and Hellenic populations of Greece (*Elishah*), Epirus (*Dodanim*), the Archipelago and Cyprus (*Kittim*),¹ and Asia Minor (*Tarshish*),² who expelled the Phœnicians from their settlements on 'the isles of the Gentiles,' and who were nearly related to the Libyans and other Pelasgican populations that mingled with Berbers in Libya, etc., and to the Pelasgians of Lower Italy and Sicily, and not distantly to the Italian populations of Central and Northern Italy; *Tiras* for Thrace, where the population was nearly related to that of Mœsia and Dacia, and not distantly to that of Illyria, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhætia; *Tubal* and *Meshech* for the Tibarenians of Pontus and the Moschians of Colchis, two commercial nations, with whom the Phœnicians as well as the Greeks had much dealing, and who exported the metal-work of their Chalybian neighbours; ³ *Togarmah* for Armenia, where the dominant race among an older Accadian population (Carduchi, etc.) was also of an Aryan stock; *Ripphath* for the Carpathian Mountains (τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη), between which and the Black Sea the main body of the Celts was long settled before continuing its migrations towards the far West of Europe; *Ashkenaz*, according to Knobel, for the 'kin of the Asas' (*As-chuni*), as the old

¹ Probably from Citium in Cyprus.

² Tarsus was probably the name of a district in Cilicia, before it became that of the town said to have been founded, but perhaps only fortified and garrisoned, by Assur-bani-pal, king of Assyria.

³ Vide *Ezekiel* xxvii. 13.

Teutons liked to style themselves; *Magog* for the 'Scythian' populations, both Finno-Tartar and Sarmatian, of the northern shores of the Caspian Sea.

Elam was the Hebrew name for Susiana (Khuzistan), where, before the Persian conquest, the population was formed from Accadians (Susii, etc.), Cushites (Cossæi), and Elymæans; *Asshur*, for Assur or Elassar, the old capital of the Assyrians, the dominant race, among an older Accadian population (Carduchi, etc.), of Assyria (Turkish Kurdistan); *Lud* for the Shemites who, at an early period, mingled with Chalybians, Cario-Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians in Lydia and other countries of Asia Minor to the West of the Halys (Kizil-Irmak), but had preserved their language and type in Pontus and Cappadocia, when they first became known to the Greeks; *Aram* for the high country of North-Eastern Syria, whence a Shemitic population, speaking a language derived from the Canaanites of Northern Syria, extended also into Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Arabia; *Arphaxad* for a country on or near the Euphrates, where dwelled at one time the Joktanites and Hebrews, before the former emigrated into Arabia and the latter into Palestine and Arabia.

Cush was the Hebrew name for Ethiopia (Nubia and Abyssinia), where the Cushites mingled with Negroes, and, in *Genesis* ii., for a country on the Oxus (Gihon, Ji-hun), the cradle of their race, whence they extended into India, Gedrosia (Beluchistan), Babylonia (Irak-Arabi), Arabia, Ethiopia, etc.; *Mizraim* for the Egyptians; *Phut* for Libya, whence the Berber race extended to the Atlantic; *Canaan* for the low country of South-Western Syria, colonised, before the time of Abraham,¹ by an Hamitic population, which had

¹ *Genesis* xii. 6.

been expelled from the Northern shores of the Persian Gulf by an Iranian invasion, which extended over the greater part of Syria, where its most flourishing and celebrated cities were those of the Phœnician Confederation, as well as into Mesopotamia, and of which the Hamitic element in the population of Asia Minor and Italy seems to have been an offshoot.

It is highly probable that the Hamitic race was formed from the intermingling, at a very early period, of Noachites with Turanians and Melanians, before the expulsion of the latter from the Asiatic continent.¹

Of the Turanian races: to the *Chinese* belongs the most important element in the population of China and Japan; to the *Indochinese*, the largest and most important element in the population of Indochina; to the *Dravidian*, the largest element in the population of Southern India; to the *Thibetan*, the largest and aboriginal element in the population of Thibet, the aboriginal element in the population of Southern China, and a large element in the population of Northern India; to the *Mongol*, the aboriginal and present population of Mongolia, Mandchuria and Corea, the aboriginal element in the population of Northern China, the Tongouse and Buriates of Eastern Siberia, the Kalmuks of Russia and Chinese Tartary, the Huns and the Mogols, of whom Attila and Gengis-Khan were respectively the immediate chiefs, etc.; to the *Finno-Tartar*, the populations circling the North Pole (Lapps, Samoyedes, Tchuktchis, Kamtchadales, Eskimo,

¹ The Melanian race has been gradually expelled in a South-easterly direction from Asia and Malaysia to Australasia, where it seems to have degenerated, but it left behind some representatives in the mountains of India, Indochina, and Malaysia, such as the Ghonds and other 'hill tribes' of India, the Simangs or Mawas of Malacca, and the *Negritos del Monte* of the Philippine Islands, which have more or less preserved its type, if not its language.

etc.), the Finns, Tchoudes, Nogaïs, etc. of Russia, the Kirghiz, Ostiaks, etc. of Western Siberia, the Aïnos of the Northern Japanese islands, the aboriginal and largest element in the population of ancient Media, the Sacians, Parthians, Chorasmians, Hyrcanians, and Albanians who were subjects of the Achæmenide kings of Persia, the Turks of Chinese Tartary, etc., the Massagetæ, Argippæi, Arimaspi, Neuri, etc., among the 'Scythians,' described by Herodotus, the Tokarians or 'Indoscythians' who conquered the Greek kingdom of Bactriana, and penetrated into Hindustan, the Bulgarians who settled in Bulgaria, the Avars and the Magyars who settled in Hungary, the 'Tartars' of whom Tamerlan (Timur-Leng) was the immediate chief, etc. ; to the *Accadian*, the aboriginal element in the population of Babylonia, Assyria, Susiana and Armenia ; to the *Chalybian*, the aboriginal element in the population of Asia Minor ; to the *Iberio-Ligurian*, the aboriginal element in the population of Spain, Italy, Gaul, and the British Isles.¹

The *Malayo-Polynesian* race was probably formed in the peninsula of Malacca from the intermingling of Turanians and Melanians.

It is not improbable that the *American* race was formed in the North of Asia from the intermingling of Turanians with Noachites.²

¹ The Basques of Spain and France still speak an Iberio-Ligurian language, but they are too few in number to have preserved in the midst of an Aryan population the purity of their race, the characteristics of which are perhaps more manifest in some parts of Ireland.

It is now supposed that the megalithic structures (dolmens, etc.), which have been long attributed to the Celts, were the work of the earlier population of Western Europe.

² Traditions of the Deluge seem to have been preserved by most branches of the American race.

The Aryan race is characterised by the keenness of its moral sense, of its consciousness of free-will and responsibility, easily degenerating into pride, and of its æsthetic enjoyment of human beauty, by its ability to worship devoutly without the help of much æsthetic emotion, to find enjoyment and comfort without the help of luxury, to labour perseveringly under difficulties, and to assimilate, transmute, refine and develop what it borrows from other races, by its chivalrous feeling towards the gentler sex, by its respect for a real nobility, and by its abhorrence of tyranny.

We find, in consequence mainly of these characteristics,—that, wherever their descent has been sufficiently pure, the Aryans required to come into contact with other races before they learnt to appreciate the benefits of an advanced state of civilisation, but that they progressed rapidly in all branches of civilisation and culture, as soon as circumstances permitted, and have nowhere sunk into utter barbarism, and that, within certain limits, the more they have derived from other races the more original have been the forms of their civilisation and culture; that they have frequently been able to live in opulence without moral corruption resulting therefrom; that the quality and quantity of their religious art have not always corresponded to the depth of their religious feelings; that they emancipated themselves easily from the worst heresies of Pantheism, as soon as their intellectual life was sufficiently developed; that their indigenous religions have been relatively free from cruel and immoral rites and from black magic; that they have excelled all other races in epic poetry, historical prose, statuary and painting; and that they have succeeded best with local self-government and aristocratic institutions.

It was prophesied of Japheth,¹ that *he should be en-*

¹ *Genesis ix. 27.*

larged ; that *he should dwell in the tents* (i.e., be admitted to share in the religion) *of Shem* ; and that *Canaan should be his servant* ; the third of these very remarkable predictions having been fulfilled when the Greeks developed a higher civilisation out of elements furnished to them by the Canaanite Phœnicians.

The Shemites have, though perhaps to a less degree, the above-mentioned characteristics of the Aryans, but differ from them in being more imaginative and excitable and less able to brook restraint, so that religious enthusiasm alone can force them to accept a state of society sufficiently disciplined for the foundations to be laid of an original civilisation, and they have not unfrequently lived close beside very civilised populations without losing their preference for a nomadic life ; although they generally adopted the languages of their Hamite neighbours.¹

¹ 'Aramaic,' and 'Hebrew,' from the Canaanites, 'Assyrian' from the Cushites, etc.

The adoption of Hamitic languages by the Shemites is not more strange than that of Latin by the Celtic populations of Western Europe, or of English by the Welsh and of Spanish by Gipsies at the present day. The Shemites have at all times attached themselves parasitically to the Hamites, like the jackal to the lion. The latter, at a very early period, dispersed in small knots over a vast tract of country, extending from the Oxus to the Bay of Bengal, the Arabian Sea and the deserts of Africa, and founded their cities only by navigable rivers or by natural harbours on the sea-coast, or on rich soil, while the former, averse to the restraints of an urban or agricultural life, occupied the wide tracts of pasture-land lying between the Hamite settlements, where they were sure to find a market for the produce of their flocks and herds, besides opportunities of escorting or levying black-mail on caravans. So long, however, as a Shemitic population thus kept to a nomadic life, it could camp very near to an Hamitic population without coming into close relations with it, and, although the latter would buy the daughters of the former for concubines, the women of a rich and civilized nation would rarely be given in marriage to the wild shepherds

The Hamites¹ and especially the Turanians,² having either to a far less degree or not at all the above-mentioned qualities of the Aryans, they required, in favourable circumstances, to learn nothing from other races in order to create the arts and sciences that minister to a luxurious civilisation, but it is only on a rich soil or in other favourable conditions that they are able to remain in a civilised state at all, and

of the wilderness, or even be sought by them (vide *Genesis* xxvii. 46). Hence the strongly-marked differences between two races living side by side, between the Phœnician and the Jew, the Babylonian and the Assyrian, the Egyptian and the 'Shepherd,' the Moor and the Arab, differences that remained even where one had accepted the civilisation, the religion, or the dominion of the other.

¹ Fergusson, in his *History of Architecture*, has included in the Turanian race a whole group of populations, which, on the authority of F. Lenormant, A. Maury, von Eckstein, H. Rawlinson, and other eminent historians and ethnologists, are here classed as Hamites.

² On the identification of the Turanians with the Cainites, vide *Les premières Civilisations* by F. Lenormant. In *Genesis* iv., we find in a very few but pregnant words a most graphic account of the early depravity of the Cainites, their extension in an Easterly direction, and the division of their race into a nomadic pastoral population, such as the Mongols, a luxurious population cultivating the fine arts, such as the Chinese, and a hard-working population chiefly occupied with metallurgy after having discovered its secrets, such as the Chalybians of Asia Minor or the Thibetan '*Miao-Tseu*,' from whom the Chinese derived most of their knowledge of extracting and working metals. Baron von Eckstein has shown that the traditions and mythology of all the Aryan nations are full of reminiscences of the malignant sorcerers and serpent-worshippers of another race (such as the Telchins and Dactyls of Greek legend), from whom they derived the secrets of metallurgy. The cradle both of the Turanian race and of metallurgy, at least that of Asia and Europe, seems to have been in the rich mining district of the Great Altaï Mountains in Chinese Tartary, and there also would seem to have been 'the land of Nod, on the East of Eden,' and of its four rivers, Pison (the Indus, compassing a land famous for its gold and precious stones), Gihon (the Oxus, still called the Ji-hun, compassing the first settlements of the Cushites), Hiddekel (the Tigris, the Eastern river of the Assyrian Empire), and Euphrates. The original 'Mountains of Ararat,' whence the Noachites 'journeyed from the East,' have been identified with the Bolor chain.

they have improved little or nothing derived from unkindred races ; the development of their moral sense has rarely kept pace with that of their æsthetic and intellectual faculties ; their religions to be prosperous have always required a lavish expenditure on the fine arts ; they have generally delighted more in fetishistic rites than in anthropomorphic mythology ; they have often sullied their religions with cruel and immoral rites and with the practices of black magic ; they have generally been polygamists ; they have excelled the Aryans and Shemitic races in purely decorative arts ; and they have been easily united into large, centralised, and despotically-governed nations.

The Hamites may generally be distinguished from the Turanians by their predilection for clerical government, the caste-system and metaphysical speculation, and for the fish and the phallus, rather than the serpent, as religious emblems, and by a much more pronounced taste for astronomy and navigation.

The most satisfactory and indeed quite an exceptional specimen of the Hamitic race, from a religious and ethical point of view, has been the great Egyptian nation ; but, now that we know how different were its earlier from its later characteristics, its spiritual progress, from the materialistic period of the Old Empire to the deeply religious period of the New Empire, is a proof that no race has been irrevocably doomed to stagnation.

Few nations that have played a part in history have been of altogether unmixed race ;¹ some had received foreign ele-

¹ Perhaps the Hellenes of Greece proper, in antiquity, and, in very different conditions of climate, etc., the population of Western Germany and England, at the present day, may be taken as the best representative types of the Aryan race ; and the Israelites, when they invaded Palestine, and certain tribes of Arabia, at the present day, may be taken as the best representative types of the Shemitic race.

ments because they had been conquerors ; others, because they had been conquered ; some, because they had migrated ; others, because they had not migrated when their country received new inhabitants ; others again, in consequence of the slave-trade.

The Teutons in their Westward migrations were protected from contact with Turanians by the Celts, who preceded, and by the Sarmatians, who followed them ; and the ancestors of the Hellenes were preceded by other Pelasgians, while their rear was covered by the Illyrio-Thracians.

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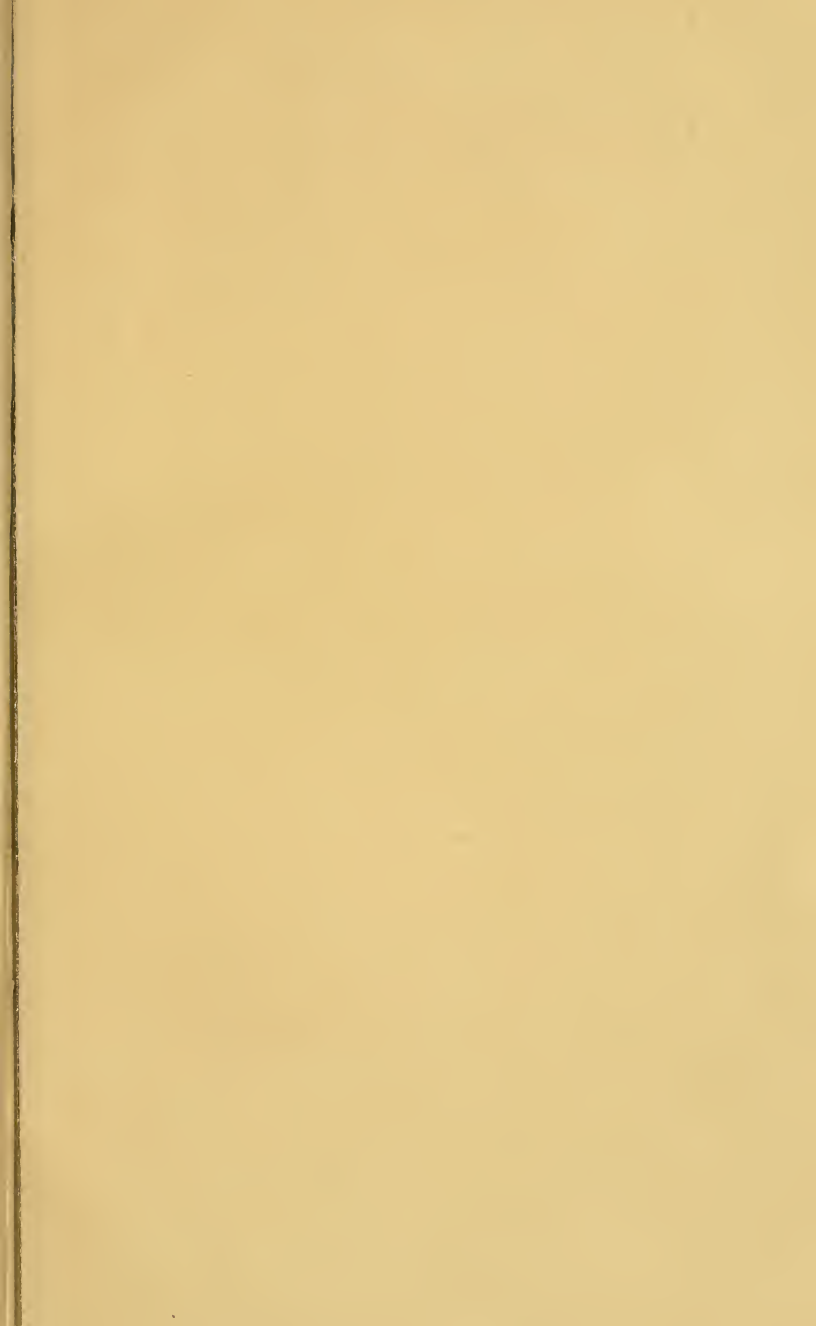
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